

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME CXVI.

January 1903.

No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contended with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world; and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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"WHERE THE SUN (LIGHT) NEVER SETS."

VISIT OF THE INDIAN CORONATION CONTINGENT TO PORT SUNLIGHT.

To those members of the Indian Army who have been privileged to visit England, the memory of the reception which they received by all classes in the Mother Country will never fade. Wherever they went there was an enthusiastic welcome. But nowhere was the welcome more cordial than at Port Sunlight, the village which is known all over the world as the home of Sunlight Soap. Messrs. Lever Brothers took advantage of the visit paid by our brothers to Liverpool, and invited them to view their works and village. The invitation was accepted, and on Monday, July 28th, the entire contingent, under the command of Lieut.-Col. Dawson, travelled by special steamer from Liverpool to New Ferry, where they were met by the Port Sunlight Silver Prize Band, and escorted to Port Sunlight, about a mile and-a-half away, through gaily-decked streets lined with cheering crowds of people. Flags and banners were displayed at every point, and the day being gloriously fine, the scene was most enchanting. As the stalwart soldiers marched along, many complimentary remarks were heard, and the impression they created was highly flattering. Mr. W. H. Lever, the Chairman and founder of the company, received the contingent at the door of the Offices, and each detachment was guided through the works by an official. The reserve so noticeable in the Indian soldiery was somewhat broken down, as wonder after wonder was viewed; and many expressions of delight and astonishment passed from man to man as they visited the various departments. After leaving the works, the detachments were re-formed, and entered Hulme Hall—a large and handsome dining room for the work girls—where the officers and men were entertained with light refreshments, fruit, cigars, cigarettes, &c. Before leaving the hall each man was presented with a book containing views of the Village and Works, describing in detail many points of interest to the visitor, and also a cardbox containing sample tablets of Sunlight Soap, each box bearing labels in the seven principal Indian languages. The men were charmed with their visit, and those who could speak a little English expressed their regret that they had only been able to stay such a short time. To the villagers the sight of a body of men of such splendid physique and attired in such varied uniforms was educational, and the distinctly polite, gentlemanly manner of all the soldiers impressed everyone. There was at no time the slightest semblance of rushing or crowding. Everything was done in the most orderly style, and where favours were conferred the soldiers were profuse in their thanks. On the other hand, our Indian brothers will take back to their countrymen and to their loved ones in India pleasant stories of their visit to Port Sunlight, and a tangible gift with ample and easily read descriptions of the uses of that Sunlight Soap of which they have often heard, which has made the pretty village on the Mersey possible and famous.

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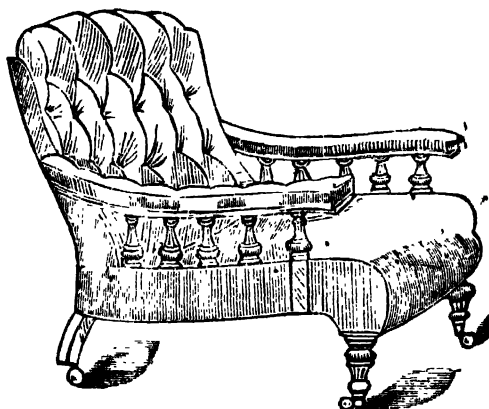
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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 231—JANUARY 1903..

ART. I.—THE EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS OF
BURMA

NOTICE.

The Proprietor regrets very much the late appearance of the January Number of the Review owing to the Press premises being under repairs; and he wishes it to be known that this delay is in no way the fault of the Editor.

described by the Travellers' Company
by his stories on board their boats, and alarmed and disgusted
by his speeches when he had left. Mr. Broadhurst, the Trades
Union member for Leicester, whose voice recalls the dulcet
tones of the late Sir George Campbell, has thought fit to dub
me the member for Burma, and I should be most proud to
live up to the role the working-class member for Leicester
has mapped out for me. No part of my Indian travels lives
more vividly in my mind's eye than the journey from Bhamo
to Mandalay and the evenings I spent in the Burman villages
gave an enquiring legislator some food for reflection, some
ideals for the future.

Of the numerous addresses which I had to give as a member
of the London Chamber of Commerce on my return, none

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has been more in request, than that which I gave to the Chamber in Eastcheap, and to the assembled politicians in Piccadilly, on my experiences in Burma and my views thereon. I have perused with greater interest the Burmese criticisms than even the Burmese reports, and it has been my good fortune in meeting Sir Wm. Agnew and Dr. Marks, the late Principal of St. John's College, to ascertain how far my suggestions were justified by past events or coming realizations of prophecies. I made it my business, when in Burma, to ask as many questions of as many authorities as possible, and not to limit these to my European friends or to native officials. Not content with reading from end to end that charming work—*The Souls of the People*, the Sunday before I entered, and the Sunday I left Burma, I tried by interview and conversation to grasp some of the problems and to obtain official and non-official views thereon. I never entered Government House, for reasons. now that the Lieutenant-Governor has left, I need not dilate upon; but for questions of Trade, which much interested me, I sought the opinion of the English Merchant, the Irrawaddy Captains, and the Native Trader; and on the subject of Education, which interested me most of all, I endeavoured to ascertain how we might build upon existing institutions, rather than create new ones altogether. It is a part of my political education not that we should begin *de novo*, but make use of what we find around us. So, just as I am engaged in defending the Government Education Bill in the remotest and perhaps most romantic county in England, so I spent the most interesting of all my days in India, with Mr. de la Fosse, the Government Inspector at Allahabad, in a school at Benares without a European master. Just as the Church in England was the pioneer in the work of national education by her monastic schools, that at Sherborne dating from A. D. 700, and that of the monks at Christ Church, Canterbury, probably, the same decade; so, too, I would like to make use of and utilise the village schools of Burma taught by the Buddhist monks, and lead on to a system of Secondary Education in the larger cities of Burma. The Monastic Life and the Monastic Teachers of Burma have a great charm and a great hold upon the people, and the advice which Lord Curzon gave to them in his recent visit, about standing by their old institutions, is one which no intelligent Burman should permit Western Culture to rob him of. Better, far better the adherence to the National Faith and the sublime teachings of Buddha, than that negation of all belief, which we find too often in the Educated Hindu. As one personally interested in Christian Missions, I do not wish to be misunderstood. I consider Chris-

tianity the goal of all our efforts, but we must not make the mistakes of Clive or of the Islamic Rulers by forced Conversions to follow the example of the Rulers, and the Ruling Class. I have watched the patient plodding perseverance of the Buddhist pupil inscribing the sacred precepts on the leaves in the Monastery at Rangoon, and my mind was carried back for centuries, as I recalled the day's labour on the Illuminated Text, and the little group of disciples around the Venerable Bede as they hastened to take down at the master's dying request the final words of the Gospel which bears the name of the beloved disciple. We call upon the educated world to loathe and detest the Mahommedan Ruler who sacrificed the MSS. of the learning of the world gathered together in Alexandria, but what of that bright, mighty Prince Henry who has left us in the greatest and richest city of English Life with but one Service Book and one piece of Communion plate bearing date earlier than 1547. The kingly desire for wealth and the iconoclastic zeal of his Protestant courtiers has deprived the student, of priceless literature, of civic and parochial worth; and the antiquarian, of the richest gems of mediæval work. The shrine of St. Eikenwald in St. Paul's and of St. Thomas at Canterbury, of the proto-martyr St. Alban (the fragments of which have been put together) prove that Islam is not altogether responsible for the destruction of ancient treasure and primitive research. For these reasons, let us be most careful not to interfere with, but to encourage and to help educationally the Buddhist monks, who at all events have given to the village youth of Burma the rudiments of a National Education. The anxiety of the Burman boy to understand English was made apparent to me by their friendly intercourse on all the steamers, and the delighted way in which they sought and accepted explanation of English Reading Books.

Their happy joyfulness and yet their receptiveness of information contrasted favorably with the Hindu methods of cram and exam. Both in Burma and in India a much larger number of schoolmasters from England are needed, not necessarily University men, but qualified, and, if possible, certificated teachers who would really give their class accurate pronunciation of the English lessons, and a real definite realisation of the subject, apart from the wretched Keys which crop up everywhere with Indians in their own country, and in our own, with any and every examination. It would be a great thing to accomplish, if we could have a number of village teachers who had been educated in England, and, if possible, were Burmans, for, if they were not Burmans, they should be Englishmen. In my desire to find suitable and

profitable employment for the Anglo-Indian population, it might be possible to map out a career of usefulness for them in teaching elementary English to the natives in the simple village schools.

The Viceroy has put his foot down upon any plan for establishing, as yet, a Burman University, and, therefore, after the recent report of the Indian Universities, the summary of which, so far I have only seen, it is, in the unification rather than in the extension of the present system, that Reform and Efficiency can best be secured. But my sympathy is entirely with the Burman in his desire to have a system, and therefore in the end, an University of his own. Buddha's Teachings and Buddhist monks have been driven out of India, and it is in the religion of a race, and especially in a monastic system which treats National Education as one of its works, we must seek the unit or factor upon which to build. Secondary schools in the larger centres of population should follow, and after what I have seen of Burman Handicraft in the prison store at Rangoon, technical education must be followed up in every local centre. With the knowledge of reading and writing, there must also be given instruction in the art and science of Home manufactures, and every boy should thus learn a native industry.

It would be a sorry day for the Burman youth, if he became a prey to the passion of the Hindu, for a degree, and a government employment, when there is so much in the development of the trade of his own country to be accomplished if he is to be saved from painless annihilation by the Chinese Trader and the Hindu Agriculturist. I know it is argued that the Burman is the Irishman of the East, but there is, I venture to think, in the Burman youth, a realisation of the pleasures which Industry brings in the form of competence, and afterwards of wealth, which may be successfully trained and developed. There are no congested districts in Burma, but, like the great fields of Manitoba, there are millions of acres waiting for cultivation, and ample room for millions of settlers. One great object of Burman Education, both male and female (where possible), should be directed to the preservation of the race and the family, and the inculcation of the lessons to be derived from the result of Home Industry, and the preservation of Burman family life, rather than in the mixed marriage with the Chinaman and the Hindu. In this problem of Burman Education arises the question, of what would be the best form and the best services that English Missionaries could render. The means of Education is the *Open Sesame* to the Burman Home, and the proverbs of Solomon and the lessons of the Old Testament were explained to me on the roofs of

Mandalay by children who had been daily taught in the school of the American Baptists. Just as I would recognise and assist the simplest village school taught by the Buddhist monk as a matter of State expediency; so I would, as a Christian, encourage the Monastic system as the Missionary factor of Christian pioneer work in Burma. The happy English Home of the English pastor, or the more business-like life and methods of the American Missionary do not commend themselves to the religious mind, or answer the higher ideals of the followers of The Light of Asia. To them the example of their great master Buddha is always the more perfect way. They can understand the answer of our Greater Master to the rich young man in the Gospels. "If thou wouldst be perfect sell all that thou hast, and give to the poor, and come and follow Me." I know how much more work is doing, and has to be done among the dense population of our own great land, but the cry of the heathen has great attractions to noble minds, and sooner or later, I trust some community of learned, as well as saintly men, will be found to enter on the work of Burman Missions and the higher Christian education of the Burman youth.

So long as we in no way speak against the pure teachings of Gaudhama Buddha, but rather point the more excellent way of Him who should be the realisation of Buddhist hopes, we shall in due time win over some of the higher intelligence of educated Burmans; but in the pioneer work which I have endeavoured to describe, we must assist the Buddhist teachers in the Buddhist schools. Fortunately, in Burma, there is no Free Church Council of sufficient political importance to protest against the teaching of false doctrine at public expense. Statesmen and ecclesiastics who deal with Burma, must be men of broad sympathies, and of a hopeful and encouraging temperament. It is a work of educational elevation which must be attempted, and which, if it is to be widespread, far-reaching and effectual, must be in harmony with native institutions and national instincts. To those whose official life has been cast in India, how happy, how hopeful must be their feelings when they leave the Hughli for the Irrawaddy, and reach the land of Rest Houses and Village Pagodas, and leave behind the caste-system and the mosques and temples. It is delightful to find, in little more than a decade, how our rule is accepted, and on the whole is popular. We owe much of this feeling to the teaching and direction of the Buddhist monk, and we must repay that confidence by accepting their conditions in the work of their national education.

H. C. RICHARDS, K.C., M.P.

ART. II.—UMĀ 'THE MOUNTAIN MAID.

KĀLIDĀSA is recognized as the prince of Indian poets. He occupies the same place in Sanscrit literature that Shakespeare does in English poetry. His *Sakuntalā*, rendered into English by Sir William Jones over a hundred years ago, attracted the attention of European scholars to the richness of Indian thought and the beauty of Indian poetry. His other plays and poems, since translated into European languages, are familiar to all lovers of oriental poetry. In India, Pandits and scholars give Kālidāsa the seat of honour among all Indian poets. He is described as the melodious Kokil among the singers of India.

And yet, in according this high place to Kālidāsa, we must make one reservation. The epics of India are higher and loftier than anything that Kālidāsa or any other later poet ever wrote. And they are different, too, in their character. In the two epics, and specially in the *Mahābhārata*, we find characters of Homeric simplicity and strength. We find men and women of flesh and blood, with all the passions and ambitions, all the pride and jealousy and strength of the beings of a heroic world. Every warrior has a distinct personality; every woman has a character of her own. The heroes and heroines of the *Mahābhārata* stand out like figures hewn from solid rock, rough, sharp-cut, bold,—each distinct from the rest. The characters of Kālidāsa and all later poets, compared with those of the epics, are like tapestry figures compared with solid marble. The tapestry figures have more of glitter and light woven into them, but they are not bold, distinct, life-like. We admire the skill of the needle-work, but we miss the strength of the hammer-stroke in later Sanscrit literature.

With this reservation, we unhesitatingly yield to Kālidāsa the palm among Indian poets. In richness of imagery and beauty of conception, in the music of his verse and the wealth of his descriptions, he stands unequalled among Indian poets. Rich imagery fills his mind, music inspires his soul, melody flows from his pen. His descriptions of woodland groves, of quiet hermitages, of simple love-lorn maidens, of the Kokil's lay or the love of the tame antelope, have all the glow and warmth of Eastern life. His similes are as spontaneous and as beautiful as the wild flowers which blossom in the woodlands. His Sanscrit verse sounds so sweet and melodious that he who does not understand still stops to listen !

And this is the great difficulty of the translator. No translation can do justice to Kâlidâsa's melodious verse ; no rendering conveys to the foreign reader the beauty of the original. This is true of all poets of all countries ; it is specially true of Kâlidâsa. Sir William Jones failed to do justice to *Sakuntalâ* ; Mr. Ralph Griffith has succeeded no better with *Kumâra-Sambhava* ; and our own rendering, which we give in this paper, will fail still more wretchedly in conveying to the English reader, the matchless rhythm and melody of the original Sanscrit. In judging Kâlidâsa, therefore, English readers must make allowance for the limitations of a translation and the shortcomings of the translator.

Two of Kâlidâsa's characters stand pre-eminent for loveliness among all his lovely creations. They are his Sakuhtalâ, and his Umâ. It is of this latter that we propose to say a few words in this paper.

Umâ was a mountain maid, the daughter of the presiding spirit of the Himalaya Mountains ; and her birth and her wedding with the god Siva are the subjects of the *Kumâra-Sambhava*. And there is nothing in Sanscrit poetry fresher or more beautiful than the description of the sweet mountain child blooming into womanhood.

As the waxing moon in splendour
 Brings a bright and brighter ray,
 So the sweet child sweetly added
 Lines of beauty day by day !
 Pârvatî—so gossips named her,
 Heir unto her father's fame,
 Umâ,—so her mother called her,
 Umâ was her cherished name !
 Still on her the fondling father
 Eyes of soft affection bent,
 As the bee is drawn at springtime
 By the blossoming mango's scent ;—
 For as flame is to the bright lamp,
 Milky way to starry heaven,
 Poetry to soul of genius,
 She unto her sire was given !
 And the sands of Mandâkinî
 Witnessed gentle Uma's play,
 Girt by mountains of the mountain
 Merry as the morning's ray ;
 And as swins to Ganga's waters,
 Light to living plants on earth,
 Grace and culture came to Umâ,—
 Culture of a former birth !

Youth disclosed a woman's beauty,—
 Nature's grace devoid of art,
 Wine's sweet langour void of madness,
 Love's soft flame without the dart !
 And as painter's pencil traces
 Blushing bloom of brow and face,
 Soft as sunbeam ope the lotus
 Youth disclosed the maiden's grace !

The description of the beauty of Umā is worthy of Kālidāsa's pen, but it is too long for translation. One or two verses will serve as samples.

And from Umā's red lips issued
 Voice of song so sweet and clear,
 In the woods the startled Kokil
 Hushed his lay that voice to hear !
 And her glances ' Did the wild deer
 Learn the dark charm of her eye,
 Did she from the deer of jungle
 Learn that secret mystery ?

This maiden of the mountain was predestined to be the wife of Siva, a god who lived in contemplation. Siva had chosen a hermitage in the Himalaya Mountains for his devotions, and Umā with her maidens attended on him and supplied his needs. All might have passed off well, but the mischievous God of Love, bidden by the other gods, came to hasten matters. And the result was tragic, for Siva, who might have been won by the tender devotion of the girl, would not be forced into love !

In a seat of Deva-dāru,
 Covered by the tiger-skin,
 Silent-seated, tall and stately
 Siva's ample form was seen ;—
 Form erect in contemplation,
 Shoulders builded deep and broad,
 Lotus palms conjoined in worship,
 Moveless at the mighty god's
 Like the deep cloud,—dark but bright,
 Like the ocean,—vast but still,
 Like the flame,—by winds unshaken,
 The deed god of dauntless will !
 And a radiance brightly beaming,
 Which his flaming forehead flung,
 Lighted up the lunar crescent
 On his golden locks that hung !

Bearing wreaths of Karni-kâra,
 Red Asoka's flowers of flame,
 Garlanded with Sindhu-vâra,
 Rich in blossoms, Umâ came !
 Wearing scarf of molten sunlight
 On her swelling bosom laid,
 Like a blossom-weighted creeper
 Softly stepped the mountain maid !
 Holding oft the flowery girdle,
 Slipping from her narrow zone,—
 Brighter bow-string for his arrows
 God of Love did never own !
 Waving back with fan of lotus
 From her lips the thirsty bee,—
 Well those lips might tempt the insect
 From the bush and flowering tree !
 Fresh and fragrant from the forest
 Love compelling Umâ came,
 And the God of Love with ardour
 Sought to stir the secret flame !

Umâ then in pious reverence
 Bent to do obeisance meet,
 And the buds that starred her tresses
 Rained on Siva's holy feet
 "Live to be a dear-loved consort,
 Live to be a loving wife,"—
 Then the bright god blest the maiden,
 For the gods can bless our life,
 Garland of the seed of lotus,
 Bepetted by the Gangâ's wave,
 Wreathed by Umâ's cunning fingers,
 Umâ unto Siva gave ;—
 Gently touching hands so tender
 Siva took the offered wreath,
 And the God of Love his arrow
 Sped as quick as shaft of death !
 Silent heaved the heart of Siva,
 Like the ocean's heaving swell,
 On her face and lips of coral
 His impassioned glances fell ;—
 She with woman's secret instinct
 Knew the import of the glance,—
 Brow and bosom flushed and crimsoned
 Umâ quaked as in a trance !

Tide of feeling and of passion
 Siva quelled within his heart,
 Sought with cold and ruthless glances
 Whence had come the unseen dart ;
 And he marked the young Kandarpa,
 Leaning still on bended knee,
 Bow of blossoms still encircled,
 Right hand drawn unto his eye !
 Then arose a mighty anger
 As he marked Kandarpa well,
 As from cloud a flash of lightning
 From his eye the red fire fell !
 " Spare, O spare !"—the bright gods uttered ;—
 Ere these accents winged their way
 Through the sky and heaven's high confers,—
 Lifeless love in ashes lay !

The lament of the Goddess of Love on the death of her consort is a favourite canto with many readers, but we cannot say we appreciate it very much. It is full of images and conceits, but is wanting in true pathos ; it discloses the skill of the versifier, but not the music of true poetry. We pass it over, and come to the fifth canto which brings us to a new scene.

Umâ is no longer the bright young maiden, wreathed in flowers and in smiles, and waiting on the divine devotee whom she secretly loves in her heart. Grieved and humiliated, disappointed in her unspoken-love, she retires into the woods, and passes her time in penance and religious contemplation. The transition calls forth the highest efforts of the poet, and there is scarcely anything in Kâlidâsa's poetry more touching and more sublime than the description of the tender young maiden, clad in the guise of a hermit, and devoting her days and nights to penance.

Sterner rite and penance
 Now the maid begun,
 For by highest effort
 Highest meed is won !
 And her frame so tender
 Hermit's toil did bear,"
 Like a golden lotus,
 Strong, though fresh and fair !
 Flaming fires in summer
 Round her radiant shone
 As she sat in prayer
 Gazing on the sun ;—

Till, like sun-browned lotus,
 Crimsoned was her face,
 And a darker shadow
 Dimmed her eye's soft glance !
 Springs that fed the creepers
 Drink to Umâ brought,
 Save the moon's soft moisture,
 Food she never sought ;
 Rains that after summer
 Cooled the parched soil,
 Drew a sigh of gladness
 From her in her toil ;
 And on eye and red lip,
 On her bosom's swell
 Rolled the first-born rain-drop
 Glistening as it fell !
 Shadows of the midnight
 With their lightning eye
 Watched her in the tempest
 'Neath the open sky ;—
 Blasts of hoary winter
 Saw the tireless maid
 In the ice-bound water
 Where the Chukwas strayed ;—
 Silent hills and mountains
 Marked her fragrant face
 Midst the water lotus
 Tinged with lotus-grace !

The year expired, but Umâ's penance did not end. She had resolved to live and die in those solitary woods, or to win her object by devotions.

Her religious life and arduous penances became known all round, and a young ascetic, radiant with the glory of a holy Brahmacharin, came to visit her. He made kind enquiries, approved of her devotions, but could not comprehend why she in her youth and loveliness had adopted the life of a hermit which befits men and women in their old age. Umâ's maid then told the story of Umâ's love to satisfy the Brahman's curiosity.

She, the gods despising,
 Fixed on Him her thought,
 Who hath conquered passion,—
 Beauty moves Him not !

Young Love's cruel arrow
 Useless on the god
 Fell on Umâ's bosom,
 Drank her dearest blood !
 In her father's mansion
 Then she found no rest ;
 In the icy grottoes
 Burnt her aching breast *
 In the midnight silence
 She of Siva sung,
 Nymphs of woods and mountains
 Wept to hear her song ; —
 Pale light of the morning
 Saw her in a dream
 Claspng empty shadow,
 Calling Siva's name ; —
 In the time of gloaming
 She his face portrayed,
 To the painted image
 Burning thoughts conveyed !
 Till at last despairing
 Left her father's home,
 To engage in penance
 In the woods to roam .
 On the trees she planted
 Ripening fruit hath grown,
 But no hope's sweet blossom
 Hath her young love known !

The rest of the story is briefly told,—it is the old, old story of love ! The Brahman endeavoured to dissuade her from the love of the unlovely god Siva, and the maiden replied to him with the fervour of a devotee, and the whole-hearted love of a woman. At last she turned away to depart from the impious hermit who had slandered the Being she cherished at heart.

Turned away the damsel
 From the stranger guest,
 Through the dress of wild *rk ..
 Burst her heaving breast !
 But the hermit clasped her,
 All disguise removed,
 Umâ gazed in wonder,—
 'Twas her lost and loved !
 Like a trembling lotus
 Quivered Umâ's frame,

O'er her brow and bosom
 Quick the red blood came ;—
 Still with foot uplifted
 Stayed not,—could not go,—
 Stood like rock-bound torrent
 Stopped its onward flow !
 " Maiden ! " So spake Siva,
 ' Take this hand of mine,
 Won by love and penance,
 Henceforth I am thine ! "
 With a holier beauty
 Saintly Umâ shone,
 For by love and duty
 Destiny is won !

The rest of the long poem concerns itself with the wedding of Umâ and Siva, with the birth of Kumâra, and his leading the gods back to heaven which had been won and held by the Titans for a time. But the Indian reader is most familiar with the first five books of this beautiful poem, as the reader of Milton is most familiar with the first books of the *Paradise Lost*. It is in these first five books that Kâlidâsa excels in the beauty of conception and the melody of verse ; and it is in these books that he finishes the portrait of Umâ,—placing her side by side with his other immortal portrait,—Sakuntalâ.

Kâlidâsa's descriptions are always rich, his imagery is always splendid, his verse is always harmonious ; but of all that he has written and conceived, Sakuntalâ and Umâ stand foremost, as the highest creations of his imagination. And there is a similarity in these two characters which it is interesting to trace. It is the place of the mountains and forests, the beauty of the woodland and the hermitage, the love of young souls in all the freshness of their innocence, the fragrance of the forest flower and loveliness of sylvan scenes which call forth the highest flights of Kâlidâsa's poetry. Grand old heroic characters like Ajat or Bhima, like Hektor or Lakshman, are not in Kâlidâsa's line. The complications of a city life with all its contending passions and restless ambition do not interest him much. His imagination turns again and again to sylvan woods and to rural scenes : and his poetic eye, in fine frenzy robing, calls up images in keeping with those green shades,—images so fresh, so innocent, so lovely, that they stamp themselves on a nation's mind, and thenceforth become the brightest treasures of the national literature.

Both Sakuntalâ and Umâ were heroines of ancient legends ; Kâlidâsa takes up these legends and impresses on the heroines a personality and a loveliness which are all his own. Sakun-

talâ nursed in the forest hermitage of the sage Kanva reminds one of Umâ brought up in the solitudes of the Himalaya Mountains. Sakuntalâ, in all her innocence and freshness and loveliness, falling in love with the courtly visitor to the hermitage, reminds one of Umâ falling in love with Siva who had come to her father's domains to perform his devotions. Sakuntalâ, forgotten, disappointed, and disowned by her lord, calls to mind the mountain maid who suffered her disappointment in silence; left her father's home and devoted her life to arduous penance. And Sakuntalâ, at last meeting her lord after a long separation, brings to mind the fair devotee who at last forgets in the arms of her lover all her earlier disappointment, and all the toils and privations of a hermit's life. The thread of narrative is much the same in the two great works of Kâlidâsa; and the sylvan surroundings, the descriptions of shady woodlands and pastoral scenes are the same.

To-day we seem to be living as far away from Kâlidâsa's world as Kâlidâsa lived from the heroic world of Homer and the *Mahabharata*. We live in a steam-worked, rail-girdled world, read the latest novels about the complications of modern society, and smile at our fathers whom the sentimentality of simpler works could please, whom the story of Sakuntalâ or of Giselda could interest! But though society may change, the pictures of the different stages of human civilisation, wrought by the hands of true artists, are human heritages which live for ever. Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener do not fight in chariots like Arjuna and Diomed, but the pictures of ancient life and old-fashioned wars, preserved in the *Iliad* and the *Mahabharata*, are dearer to us than any thing that modern literature has produced. And so also medieval India with its contemplative life, its quiet repose, its religious Rishis, and its peaceful hermitages, has passed away, but the pictures of that life will endure for ever in the immortal creations of Kâlidâsa.

ROMESH DUTT.

ART. III.—THE TRAVELS OF 'ITISAMU-D-DIN.

I'TISAMU-D-DIN was a native of the district of Nadiya, and he was apparently the first educated Bengali who visited Europe. As he says in his book, the English, before his arrival, had seen no Indians except lascars from Dacca and Chittagong. He sailed for France on 17th January 1767, and he returned to Bengal about three years afterwards. He thus visited Europe many years before Mirzā Abū Tālib, as the latter did not sail for England till 1799. In 1784 or thereabouts he wrote in Persian an account of his travels and called it the "Shigarfnāma Vilayat," that is, "the excellent relation of foreign countries." The book appears to have been popular in India for, in spite of Lieutenant Alexander's* statement that there were only two copies in existence, manuscripts of the Shigarfnāma are not very rare in India, and there are copies in the libraries of the British Museum, the India Office, and the Bodleian. But the book has never been printed and is now but little known. In 1826 or so, Lieutenant Alexander, a King's officer in the Madras Presidency, made, with the help of an old Munshi of Sir John Malcolm an abridged translation into Deccani Hindustani and this together, with an English version, was published in London in 1827 by Parbury, Allen & Co. It was dedicated to Sir Thomas Munro, had a fancy portrait of 'Itisāmu-d-din prefixed, and was well-printed and well-bound, the Hindustani being especially neat. But Alexander's hope that the book would be used as a text-book does not seem to have been fulfilled, and it has long been out of print. The translation appears to be a correct rendering of the Hindustani, but the latter is a considerably abridged version of the Persian, and moreover the position of several passages has been changed. It would also appear that Alexander's manuscript differed from those which I have seen. I have principally used two MSS. which I found among the Delhi manuscripts in the India Office Library. One is a long octavo, dated the tenth year of the reign of Muhammad Akbar Shāh, 1251 A. H. and 1816 A. D., and the other was written by a Hindu in the month of Bhādūn 1869 Sanvat, corresponding to 1812 A. D. Neither MS. is a good copy. The first of these is the fullest of the two, but has many mistakes in proper names, the second seems more

* Afterwards knighted. He was the author of several volumes, and took part in the removal of Cleopatra's Needle to London. See *Supplement to Dictionary National Biography* which, however, does not mention his translation of 'Itisāmu-d-din. He died in 1885.

correct as far as it goes, but it has many and large omissions. As there are other MSS. in the India Office, two good ones in the British Museum—one of them brought by myself from India—and one in the Bodleian, it is to be hoped that some scholar will one day give the world a printed edition. We learn from the advertisement to the second edition of the translation of Abū Tālib's Travels that the Government of Bengal caused the Persian original of that work to be printed and sent forty copies to England, and it is not too much to say that 'Itisāmu-d-dīn's book is the more valuable of the two, though it is not so entertaining as that of the gossiping and butterfly-like Persian Prince. 'Itisāmu-d-dīn has also the merit of being first in the field, and his account of the circumstances under which he undertook the voyage to England throws a curious light on the intrigues of Company's officers. He was not, perhaps, a man of great intelligence, and he was not favourably situated for obtaining an insight into European customs, but he was a careful and laborious observer, and he was animated by a sincere desire to do justice to Europeans and to give his countrymen full and correct information about them. Indeed, it is a defect of his book that he is too anxious to give information and details, the results of his reading and reflection, when one would rather have had his personal adventures. However, there is plenty of such gossip in M. Abū Tālib's book,* and one cannot help admiring the oriental patience and philosophy which has enabled 'Itisāmu-d-dīn to pass over in silence what must have been his many hardships by sea and land. He tells us nothing about drunken sailors or grasping landlords, and the only suffering which he mentions is one that was brought upon him by his own bigotry, and which he, no doubt, details in order to exalt the purity of his religious sentiments. During most of his stay in London he was in a state of suspense and unhappiness, waiting for the arrival of Lord Clive, and it was partly on this account that he did not mix much in society and did not fully acquire the English language. Captain Swinton, under whose wing he went to England, had straitly charged him to keep the story about Shah Aalam's letter a profound secret, and he feared that he might have to disclose the object of his journey if he went much into company. He seems to have spent most of his time—which assuredly in a strange land and uncongenial climate must often have hung heavy on

* It is interesting to find that Abū Tālib travelled to England in the same ship with Mr. Grand. He describes him as an enormous man, and very choleric. He afterwards met him in Paris, and learnt that he had got an appointment at the Cape through the influence of his former wife, Madame Talleyrand.

his hands—in reading historical and other books. Like most men shut up in their own society he was subject to fits of vanity and egotism, and these sometimes break out in his book. For instance he insinuates that it was he who furnished the materials for Sir William Jones' Grammar, which, according to his account, brought much profit to the ostensible author, and it was he who explained to the professors at Oxford some Persian letters which they had not been able fully to interpret. It was he, too, who successfully defended the Muhammadan religion against Swinton, and who put to silence Mr. John Graham of Burdwan when such a Munshi as Sadru-d-din had failed. It is probable, too, that he is unjust to Captain Swinton who seems to have behaved to him with kindness and hospitality, but whom he accuses of having been actuated by a desire to magnify himself in the eyes of the denizens of Edinburgh, by having as his companion one whom they took to be a great man and a Nabob's brother. But in spite of these failings, it is impossible not to feel respect for the man, and it is very pleasant to find a total absence of bitterness in his remarks about the English. Indeed, his book is almost one long eulogy of western laws and manners, and almost the only reproach that he brings against the English is their habit of saying "God damn"—and here, too, he says Muhammadans are as bad with their "*Lānati Ullah*"—and their custom of fighting duels. He also, on seeing the dirty practices of some French sailors, has the remark that Feringhis, and especially French Feringhis, are foul feeders. Here he follows suit to the author of the *Rauzat-at-Tāhīrīn* who made a similar remark in the sixteenth century about the Portuguese.

'Itisāmu-d-dīn begins his book with a preface, in which he tells us that he was the son of Shaikh Tajū-d-dīn and that he belonged to the village of Qasba, Pargana Pajmour (or Pachmour), district of Nadiya. He was long in the service of Nawab Mir Jaffar and thus acquired facility in Persian composition. After the accession of Mir Qāsim he entered the English service and accompanied Major Yorke* (the MSS. call him *Dark*) in his campaign against Asad Zamān Khān, the Muhammadan Rajah of Birbhūm. This little war took place in 1761 and does not appear to be much known. The fullest account of it appears to be in the *Saer Mutckhirīn*, pp. 393-95, Vol. II of the Calcutta reprint of 1902, and of which the substance is given in Kali Prosunno Bannerji's excellent *Bengali History of Bengal*, p. 358. Hāji Mastapha states in a note that Asad Zamān's ancestors were Rajputs

* Apparently the Major Martin Yorke of Dodwell and Miles's list. He belonged to the Bengal Army, became Captain in 1757, and retired as Major on 23rd December 1761.

who turned Muhammadans, and that on this account their wives were called Rānis. After the defeat of the Muhammadan Rajah, 'Itisāmu-d-din went with Major Yorke to Patna, and was there introduced to Shah Aalam, titular King of Delhi. After that he accompanied the Major to Calcutta. At that time there were, he tells us, eight Munshis in the employment of the English, *viz.*, Asadullah Khān, Fakhru-d-din Muhammad Astūb, Abū'l-bān, Munshi Māir (?) who served Major Carnac, Sadru-d-dīn, servant of Colonel Coote, and Selīm Ullah servant of Henry Vansittart, the Governor. The MSS. only give seven names, so there is either a name omitted or 'Itisāmu-d-din means that he himself was the eighth. The Sadru-d-din, mentioned as Coote's servant was, no doubt, the native of Bohār in the Burdwan district who was afterwards in Mr. Graham's employment, and who gave evidence against Maharajah Nandkumar. His fifth lineal descendant still resides in Bohār and has published a life of Sadru-d-din. When Major Yorke went home he gave 'Itisāmu-d-din a letter to Major Adams and sent him to Patna along with a plan of the march to Birbhum and some greyhounds. Owing to the machinations of Munshi, afterwards Rajah, Nabakishen, Itisāmu-d-din did not at first succeed in getting employment. Afterwards he entered the service of a gentleman whom Mr. Alexander calls Mr. Strachey and whom 'Itisāmu-d-din describes as Bakhshi or Pay-master of Chakla Jalesar which, he says, was under the command of Captain Knox.* The correctness of the name, Strachey,† is exceedingly doubtful, and I can find no Strachey in Dodwell and Miles's lists to correspond to 'Itisāmu-d-din's employer. There was of course a Henry Strachey who was Clive's Private Secretary and who wrote an account of the European Mutiny. But he became the first Baronet of the family and lived into the nineteenth century. Neither am I sure of what is meant by Chakla Jalesar. Probably it is Jaleswar, or Jellalore, as it is often called in Orissa, and which lies in the north of the Balasore district. It was a Sarkar, or province under the Moguls, and was the seat of one of the East India Company's factories. But there is

* Randolph Knox, the hero of the battle at Hajipore, and who died on 1st February 1714 and is buried at Bankipore.

† The name is certainly not Strachey in any of the five MSS. which I have seen. It is more like Ashburton or Osborne. One would like to know the name of a man whom his subordinate admired so much, but though I have looked through old lists, etc., I have been unable to see any name which I could identify with the Persian transliteration. Whoever he was, he was a Civilian, and probably a member of the Bengal Civil Service; for the name Bakhshi or Buxey was, as we learn, from Hobson-Jobson, given in the early days of the Company to Civil Officers who acted as pay-masters to the troops. Thus we find in an old Civil List in the India Office the entry, "Thomas Legh Buxey at Dacca."

also a Jalesar in Etah the northern district of the Agra division. 'Itisāmu-d-din remained at Jalesar for two years, and thereafter served in the campaign against Mīr Qāsim and was present at the battles of Gheria and Udainullah. From Rajmahal he came to Midnapore in attendance on Mr. Strachey (?) and served for a year as *tahsildār*, of Pargana Qutlupur in that district. This was during the incumbency of an officer whom he seems to call Mr. Burdett* (?) Here he passes a high encomium on Mr. Strachey, saying that he was *bissār nekzāl u ādlihūmmat*, "of excellent birth and breeding and of a noble disposition," and that he never again met with so gracious a master. For a month after Mr. Strachey's death his eyes were continually filled with tears, for a year he lamented his loss and even now, that is, when writing some twenty years afterwards, the wound on his heart reopens whenever he recalls his name. In 1179 A. H., 1765-66, he entered the service of General Carnac and at Chunar renewed his acquaintance with Shāh Aalam. Apparently he now entered Shāh Aalam's service and came with him to Allahabad. At this time Lord Clive came out again from England and obtained the Diwānī of Bengal for the Company. After his return to India, 'Itisāmu-d-din went, in 1775 or 1189 A. H., with Colonel John Wroughton to Poonah and Sattara where a treaty was made with the Mahrattas, of which 'Itisāmu-d-din still possessed a copy. In fine, he says, "I spent my youth in the service of the English gentlemen, and now in my old age I am, as the result of my evil destiny, encompassed by all kinds of hardships."

The circumstances under which 'Itisāmu-d-din went to England as a member of an embassy to the King of England are stated by him as follows:—

When Lord Clive had settled the affair of the Diwānī he and Carnac went to take leave of Shāh Aalam, and the Emperor said to them with tears in his eyes, "You have arranged the affairs of your Company to your satisfaction, but have done nothing to support me on my throne in Delhi; you have made no arrangements about my being assisted by English troops, and you are leaving me in the midst of enemies and disloyal servants." Clive and Carnac were somewhat abashed and grieved on hearing those words, and said that they could do nothing in regard to the army without the assent of the King of England and the Company. They would, however, represent matters and act according to the instructions they

* There was a Mr. Burdett who was a member of Council and who was one of those who received presents at the accession of Najama-d-daula. He was afterwards dismissed for disrespect to the Governor. But the name may be also read as Bright.

received. Meanwhile His Majesty's best course was to remain in Allahabad where General Smith, the new Commander-in-Chief, was stationed with a battalion. The rest of the English army was encamped at Jaunpur, which was not far off, and could come to the assistance of H. M. whenever it was necessary. H. M. should therefore set his mind at ease and rely upon them (Clive and Carnac), for they would do their best for him. Afterwards Shāh Aalam arranged with his minister, Munnu-d-daulah, and with Rajah Shitāb Rai that a letter should be drawn up and despatched to the King of England, mentioning the necessity for H. M. being supported by English troops, and referring to the grant of the Diwāni as having been made as a proof of H. M.'s desire for the friendship and alliance of the King of England. And this letter was to be accompanied by presents to the extent of one lakh of rupees. After this, the Nawab Munnu-d-daulah and Rajah Shitāb Rai came to Calcutta with Clive, and finally, Clive, Carnac, Swinton, George Vansittart, Munnu-d-daulah and Rajah Shitāb Rai met in the Dandam Garden and without the knowledge of the other members of Council, drew up a letter to the King of England, sealed it with Shāh Aalam's seal, and put it into a Khanta and made it over to Captain Swinton. He was thus appointed envoy from the King of India to the King of England, and was to take with him presents to the value of a lakh of rupees. On the completion of his mission he was to return to India. As it was necessary that a Munshi on behalf of Shāh Aalam should accompany Captain Swinton, 'Itisāmu-d-din was selected and received through Munnu-d-daulah Rs. 4,000 from Shāh Aalam's treasury for his expenses. He was also promised great promotion on his return. As he was young and needy he accepted the offer and accompanied Swinton. They set sail from Hijli on 9th Shāban 1180 A. H. or 13th Magh = 10th January 1767, in a French ship belonging to (?) M. Surville (?) and in four days reached the sea. 'Itisāmu-d-din was accompanied by a servant named Muhammad Muqīm. A week after sailing Swinton told 'Itisāmu-d-din that Clive had taken the letter to the King from him, saying that the presents had not arrived from Benares, and that 'It was not advisable to convey the letter without them. Next year Clive would come to England with the letter and the presents, and would make both over to Swinton to be delivered by him to the King. 'Itisāmu-d-din was thunderstruck at hearing this and felt convinced that there was something behind, and that the mission would come to naught. However, there was no remedy; the affair had gone out of hand, the arrow had left the bow! He had to continue his voyage, and after

six months he reached England. There he waited a year and a half in expectation of the arrival of Lord Clive with the letter and the presents. But when Clive came home* he suppressed Shāh Aalam's letter and presented the gifts to the Queen in his own name, thereby winning great favour for himself. Swinton told this to 'Itisāmu-d-dīn and added that things had turned out as 'Itisāmu-d-dīn had suspected and that he (Swinton) had been deceived, by Clive. Swinton was however, afraid to move in the matter as he had no acquaintance with the King's ministers, and was anxious not to displease the East India Company. After his return to Bengal 'Itisāmu-d-dīn learnt that the reason for suppressing Shāh Aalam's letter was that there had been a dispute for a long time between the King's ministers and the Company about the Diwāni. The ministers said that the Company were only traders and that Bengal had been acquired by the King's troops, while the Company dwelt upon their losses in the war with Sirājū-d-daulah and claimed that it was their servants who had conquered the country. Clive was on the side of the Company and did not produce the letter as it would have strengthened the case of the King's ministers. The above dispute went on for three years and then it was referred to the King of England to whose personal decision it was left by both parties. He decided that Shāh Aalam's having bestowed the Diwāni as an *Altamgha*, which was a kind of charitable grant, the King of England would, by accepting the Diwāni place himself in the position of a dependant upon Shah Aalam. This was inconsistent with the King of England's dignity. Had he been given the Empire of Hindustan it would have been a different matter. Accordingly the Diwāni was left in the possession of the Company.

With reference to 'Itisāmu-d-dīn's statement that Clive presented the gifts to the Queen in his own name, Lieutenant Alexander remarks in a note that 'Itisāmu-d-dīn must have been misinformed, for Clive was of too noble a nature to behave in such a manner. And I think that there must be some mistake about the affair of the presents, and that either

* Clive left India in the end of January 1767 and arrived at Portsmouth on 14th July 1767. If then 'Itisāmu-d-dīn's dates are correct Clive must have arrived in England almost as soon, if not sooner, as Swinton and 'Itisāmu-d-dīn, and the year and a half of expectancy that 'Itisāmu-d-dīn refers to must mean the period of his stay in England, and not the time he was waiting for Clive's arrival. Possibly 'Itisāmu-d-dīn is mistaken, and he really left in 1759 or January 1766. Some support to this view is given by the fact that according to Dodwell and Miles, Swinton resigned the service on 23rd January 1766, for it hardly likely that he resigned a year before he went home. Besides, why should Clive take away the letter and speak of bringing the presents next year if he was going to leave almost as soon as Swinton?

they never arrived or that Clive told the Queen* that they came from Shāh Aalam. But there can be no doubt that there was a letter and that Clive withheld it. If there had not been a letter, there was no reason for 'Itisāmu-d-dīn's going to England, and moreover there is a copy of the letter in the Royal Asiatic Society's Library, among other papers which belonged to Sir John Malcolm. I am indebted for a knowledge of this fact to the notice of the Shigarfnāma Vilayat in Sachan and Eth's Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the Bodleian Library col. 1069, article No. 1854. The letter is catalogued in Morley's description catalogue, p. 128, No. 134 (g), and I have examined it. It consists of six pages of note-paper and the gist of it is a request of Shāh Aalam to the King of England, "his brother dear as his life," *barādar bajān barābar*, to send out to Calcutta 5 or 6,000 good soldiers under distinguished officers and to make them act in concert with Clive and Carnac in order that they might replace Shāh Aalam on the throne of Delhi. The letter begins in the usual high-flown style with praises of God, Muhammad, and the Lord Jesus, and ends with the announcement that the writer has given the Diwāni to the Company as a mark of esteem for the services rendered by them.

It is known † that Clive at one time thought that India should be placed directly under the Crown. When the letter was written Clive and Carnac and some other members of Council seem to have been of opinion that Shāh Aalam should be assisted in regaining his throne. Afterwards, perhaps, they changed their views. At all events the Court of Directors decided not to assist him and in consequence he threw himself into the hands of the Mahrattas and so lost both his tribute and his eyes. By the time that Clive came to England the situation had changed, and it was no longer expedient to present the letter, for by doing so Clive would be recommending the King to interfere in the affairs of India, and to assist in replacing Shāh Aalam on his throne. Therefore Clive took what was probably the right course of suppressing the letter.

When the letter had been suppressed, Captain Swinton came to despair of being able to return to India, and he and other gentlemen endeavoured to persuade 'Itisāmu-d-din to stay in England also for some years and to teach Persian. They offered him liberal terms and suggested that he might

* In Malcolm's *Life of Clive*, III, 219, there is a letter of Clive, in which he speaks of having had an audience of the Queen, and of her having received the presents in the most gracious manner. But these presents were from Muhammad Ali, the Nawab of Arcot.

† See his remarkable letter to Pitt of 17th January 1759, Malcolm's *Life*, II, 119-25.

take one, or even two English wives. But his love for his native country was too strong, and he declared that he preferred the wheat-complexions of his country women to the fair-faces of English women. Eventually he succeeded, by the help of Mr. Majendie, who had been Secretary to the Calcutta Council, in securing a passage to India, and returned there in 1183 A. H., October 1769. His voyage to and fro occupied one year, he was one year and seven months in England and Scotland, and two months on board ship off Madras, so that altogether his travels lasted for two years and nine months.

I now come to a notice of 'Itisāmu-d-dīn's voyage and to the mention of some incidents of his stay in England.

He found his sea-voyage beneficial to his health. He was free from fever—a great point with a Bengalee—and though he at first suffered from gripes, this was remedied by taking the medicine called *turbud*, which is the root-bark of the *Convolvulus* or *Ipomœa** *Turpethum*. Before giving details of his voyage, the author digresses into an account of the various settlements of the Europeans in India. He is severe upon the Portuguese for their tyrannies and outrages, and has no difficulty in explaining the final cause of the earthquake of Lisbon—a matter which excited the wonderment of the child Goethe. According to 'Itisāmu d-dīn, the earthquake was a Divine chastisement of the Portuguese for their cruelties in India! In his account of the siege of Hughli he mentions the daring deed of one Shahr Ullah Khān in cutting the cables of one of the Portuguese ships. His accounts of the other settlements, *viz.* the Dutch, the German and the English, do not call for remark except that in the notice of Job Charnock he endorses the etymology which makes the name of Chanak, *v. z.*, Barrackpur, to be derived from Charnock. Huberto I had thought this was an exploded derivation, and the product of Anglo-Indian *guf* and on a par with the derivation of Kalyerpore from Colonel Kyd. But 'Itisāmu-d-dīn's reference shows that the derivation is an old one and not unknown to the natives.

After two months the ship arrived on 7th Shāwal or 8th March 1767 at Mānūtius where it stayed for over a fortnight. Here 'Itisāmu-d-dīn had the pleasure of meeting some of his countrymen who were in service with the French and had married female slaves of their masters. Here the author again digresses and gives an account of the wonders of the sea, and of its islands, such as the Manillas, the Andamans, etc. He also speaks of Pegu and says that Shaikh Tāhir Jamālu-d dīn Husain Anhok (?) one of Akbar's officers, went on an embassy

* See Dr. Watts's Dictionary of the economic products of India, S. V. *Turbud* is known as Indian Jalap.

to Aadil Shāh of Bijāpur and wrote an account of Pegu, etc., in his book called the *Ranzat-at-tāhirin*.^{*} This is the book described by Sir Henry Elliot, and which is rarely to be met with in a complete state. 'Itisāmu-d-dīn also describes the Cape of Good Hope and the Island of Ascension, at both of which places his ship touched.

At last they reached Port L'Orient (?) in France, and Swinton and another passenger named Peacock went off in a postchaise towards England. Itisāmu-d-dīn stayed for some days at L'Orient and then went on board a sloop and arrived after a week at the village of Quimper-Cloventin (?) where was the home of the Captain of the sloop. From there he again set sail and after a week arrived at a small village in England whose name he does not give. Here he had trouble with the custom-house officers on account of his having some Bengali handkerchiefs in his chest, and of Mrs. Peacock's, whom he describes as a dark Feringhi, having some contraband goods. He had to write to London to Swinton, and the Captain and Mr. Peacock had to come down to clear up matters. At last, 'Itisāmu-d-dīn went off to London in a postchaise along with Swinton and Muhammad Muqīm. In London they took up their quarters in Coventry Street Hay-market in the house (or lodging) of Swinton's brother. Itisāmu-d-dīn gives an amusing account of the sensation caused by his appearance in the streets. Whenever he was passing, men and women cried out that a black man was coming and crowded to the windows. The women and children thought he was the devil and ran away frightened, but after a time they got accustomed to him and then the girls in the street would call to him, "Come, my dear, and give me a kiss." He visited the Tower and saw the great cannon, Mons Meg, there, it not having yet been returned to Scotland, and he tells how, when it was formerly in Edinburgh, a young woman had lived inside the cannon for a year and given birth to a child there. He was much struck with St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey and Westminster Bridge, and he also mentions Almack's, Vauxhall and Sadler's Wells. He went to the theatre and describes two plays he saw there. One was evidently King Lear and the other was perhaps All's well that ends well. From London he went with Swinton to Oxford where he met Dr. Hunt, the professor of Arabic, and Sir William Jones. Then he went with Swinton to Edinburgh and was introduced to his family. Swinton's father he speaks

^{*} Probably 'Itisāmu-d-dīn read this work in a copy belonging to Swinton, for one is entered in the Catalogue of Swinton's MSS. sold at Christie's in 1810. In the same catalogue there is the entry of a copy of the Four Gospels, in an excellent hand, copied from one in the Glasgow Library by Yuzzamood-deen ('Itisāmu-d-dīn), Mr. Swinton's Moonshee.

of as an old man who had on account of feebleness, made over his property to his eldest son, but who occupied himself with painting and was not idle. This account of the father's having made over his estates is confirmed by A. C. Swinton's "Swintons of that Ilk," Edinburgh, 1883, where the deed of renunciation is given. It'sāmu-d-dīn notes that Swinton's sisters were unmarried, and explains for the benefit of his countrymen how it is that daughters in England often remain unmarried. From Edinburgh he was taken by Swinton to a place in the Highlands where Swinton's elder brother was Qāzī, *i.e.*, Sheriff. He describes the place as one stage from Edinburgh, and presumably it was Perth which is forty-four miles from Edinburgh, as John Swinton was Sheriff of Perthshire for many years. He was afterwards raised to the Bench and took the title of Lord Swinton. From Edinburgh Swinton took him, against his will, back to London to explain some Persian documents which were to be exhibited in a case of bribery against Mr. Johnstone and others, and in which Nandkumar's name appeared. No doubt this was the case brought by the Court of Directors against the members of Council, who were accused of breaking their covenants by taking presents on the occasion of the accession of Najmu-d-daulah in 1765. It was on this journey that he nearly died of starvation, because he refused to eat anything which had not been killed and cooked by a Muhammadan. He was evidently very angry with Captain Swinton and he gives a prejudiced and incredible account of his career. He says that he was originally a student of medicine and that he killed a man in order to dissect the body. This was found out, and he had to fly on board a ship. According to Alexander's version Swinton's offence was that of being a resurrectionist, and it is likely enough that such a charge was brought against him, for we find from the notice of Archibald Swinton, p. 105, et seq. of "The Swintons of that Ilk" that he left Scotland early, about 1752, and that he went out to the East as a surgeon's mate. He was the fourth son of John Swinton and Mary Semple. He seems to have first gone to the Straits of Malacca, and afterwards to have gone to India and to have become acquainted with Lord Clive in Madras. He became a doctor, but relinquished the medical service for the army. He was a gallant soldier, and was twice wounded in the campaign against Mīr Qāsim, losing his right arm at Patna. He brought Kimmerghame near Swinton and was known as Swinton of Kimmerghame. He died at Bath in 1803.

It is not to be supposed that I have touched upon all the matters contained in 'Itisāmu-d-dīn's book. He has long descriptions of the sights of London, such as Astley's, etc., and

he has elaborate accounts of the English system of government, of the English Courts, etc. He also has something to say about the Highlands and tells some stories such as that of the "penny-cut" to illustrate the simplicity of the Highlanders. He notices the stones called the Devil's Arrows near Borough-bridge in Yorkshire (there were four stones in his day) ; and in pursuance of his scheme of telling the wonders of Europe he describes Herculaneum, which, however, he did not see. Most of his descriptions can only have been interesting to his countrymen, and undoubtedly the most piquant part of his book at the present day, is his narrative of the intrigue which led to his visit to Europe.

H. BEVERIDGE,

ART. IV.—THE SOVEREIGN INDIAN RULERS AND
THEIR SUBJECTS: THE DUTIES OF THE
BRITISH INDIAN GOVERNMENT
IN REGARD TO THEM.

THE ordinary observer looking at the map of India cannot fail to notice certain portions of the country painted red, and the remainder yellow.

The former represent the provinces under the *direct* rule of the British nation, and the latter those which are directly under the Indian Princes and Chiefs, and only *indirectly* under the British Government, inasmuch as it is the Paramount Power in all India.

One may assume that everybody in this country knows, or ought to know, how a small company of British merchants trading with the East Indies founded our Empire in India. For sheer self-defence they were compelled to draw the sword; the traders turned soldiers and rose to be territorial rulers and supreme masters of a country teeming with an intelligent and industrious population and, in extent, as large as the whole of Europe, except Russia. This is an event quite unique and marvellous in the history of the world, and well worthy of deep study.

But this position of power which the British nation enjoys in India is not without its corresponding obligations. This nation has undertaken to protect the people of India from injustice, whether from the Indian rulers subordinate to it, or from its own officials, and has taken upon itself the duty of promoting among them contentment, peace, and progress in civilization. The British nation is responsible for the welfare of the whole of the Indian Empire: for that of the population included in the territory marked red on the map, or yellow, called British India, and Native India respectively.

British India affords unmistakable evidence of general progress; but the same cannot be said of India under its Native Rulers; and as it is obviously essential that progress should be even, all along the line, it may be useful to inquire into the cause of the disparity.

Briefly, the striking contrast between the methods of administration of the two kinds of Indian territory is this: British India is ruled by British officials who are imbued by their training with the ideas of Constitutional Government; but Native India is ruled by Native Rulers and Potentates on the principle of absolute rule. Constitutionalism in contrast with Absolutism. That is the phenomenon which appears

to be the real explanation of the unequal march of progress in India.

Now, It will be asked, why should the British Government, which is Paramount in India, tolerate absolute rule in the Native States ? That is just the point.

Let us go back in thought just about a century. Lord Wellesley arrived in India as Governor-General in 1798. He found the Native Rulers powerful, and carrying on, not only wars among themselves, but menacing the British territories. The French nation carried on intrigues with the Native Rulers and encouraged them in their bellicose attitude. Lord Wellesley formed a combination of two of them, with the British, to attack and conquer one of the strongest enemies of the British Power in India. His name was Tippoo Sultan, usurper of Mysore, who was in league with the French. The two allies were the Peishwa of Poona, who represented the Hindoo Mahratta nation, and the Nizam of Hyderabad, a Mohometan Ruler. Tippoo was defeated and killed in battle. His territory was conquered and administered by General Arthur Wellesley, who afterwards became known to fame as the Duke of Wellington, conqueror of Napoleon Bonaparte. So far so good, but Lord Wellesley wished to put the British Power in India on a permanent basis, and to render it unassailable. The British Power in India before this time, and at the time of his arrival there, was at best only *one* of several Powers who were contending for supremacy over that Continent. He wished to make it the leading, the controlling, the Supreme Power. He conceived a plan by which the Native Powers from being co-ordinate with, became subordinate to the British Power. He made treaties and entered into alliances with them, whereby, among other things, they agreed to (1) forbear from all political correspondence among themselves, or with Foreign Asiatic or European, or American Powers (Africa was out of the question) except through the medium of the British Government; and (2) to maintain British forces, by means of a subsidy in money or by cession of territory, for the purpose of defence against external and internal enemies of the Rajahs or Nawabs, as the case might be. This was a master-stroke of policy. It consolidated the British Power and made it at once the supreme controller of the destinies of India for good or for evil. Some of the Indian Rulers understood the full political scope of the policy, and that it placed a limit upon their ambition. How they fought against it, and eventually submitted to it, is a long story of bloody wars and implacable animosities, the British Power coming out triumphant in the end.

But what concerns us most here is to note that the British

Power by these "Subsidiary Alliances," as they were called, assumed the position of the Guardian of the Peace of the country. No scope was left thereafter for the Indian Rulers to indulge in military ambition, though every opportunity was open to them for promoting undisturbed the civil progress of their respective territories. For the latter description of work, however, most of them were, by education and training and traditions, unfitted. They became slothful, self-indulgent, sensual, demoralised and oppressive. That such would be one of the results of the *Pax Britannica* established by the Subsidiary Treaties was not unforeseen by the originator of the policy and the authors of the treaties.

It was not long before the unsatisfactory results of these treaties showed themselves. Gross maladministration and oppression of the worst kind, of the subject people, by some of the Indian Rulers led to riots and rebellion by the former against the authority of the latter, calling for interposition of the troops of the latter. Such an exercise of British power and prestige could not be tolerated. It was made plain to the Indian Rulers that British troops could not be called out except in defence of a *just* cause. The evolution of the principle regarding the responsibility of the British Government to safeguard the interests of the communities dwelling in the Native States was thus brought about. Many Rajahs and Nawabs brought disgrace upon themselves by breach of compliance with this important principle.

The Rajah of Mysore, who was set up by Lord Wellesley himself, proved one of the sinners in this respect, and had to be set aside from exercise of power and responsibility. The Rajah of Nagpore, the Nawab (or King, as he was styled) of Oude, and several others were conspicuous examples of the baneful effects of the Subsidiary Alliance policy upon the Native Rulers. The subject people found their power of righting the wrongs of their rulers crippled or extinguished. The British Rulers became the virtual and sole arbiters of their destinies.

Here was presented a veritable difficulty. The Interests of the people *directly* under the British *Raj* were attended to with solicitude, but those of the subjects of the Native States were in jeopardy and continued to cause constant anxiety and, I believe, *will not cease* to do so until the real cause of the malady is diagnosed and removed. A frequent interposition of its authority by the British Government into the affairs of a Native State is certainly calculated to weaken the power of the very person, the Native Ruler, whom one expects to carry on the direct administration of it. At the same time the subjects, whose power has become transferred to the British

Government, must be secured against the oppression and irregularities of the Princes set over them—nay, the prospects of a progressive good Government must be assured. The situation is, if one might say so, most unnatural and has tried the ingenuity of some of the greatest British statesmen. It has defied a satisfactory solution so far. The fact appears to be, that there is no half-way house between a complete absorption of the Native States of India into the British territory, *direct* assumption of authority by the British, relieving the Native Rulers altogether of their right to do wrong; and a complete withdrawal of the British authority from all concern with the *internal* affairs of the Native States, leaving the subjects thereof complete freedom to deal with their obnoxious rulers as circumstances might impel them to do at each exigency as it arises. The latter contingency would lead to untoward results, and cannot commend itself for acceptance. But politics are a science of compromises, and surely a midway between these two extremes must be found out. James Mill and several of the politicians of his day were convinced that the gradual extinction and annihilation of the Native States was inevitable, unless the British Government were divested of the care of the welfare of their subjects. Lord Dalhousie's righteous indignation was aroused by the maladministration of the Native States, and he availed himself of every excuse to annex as many of them as he could. But the Indian Sepoy Mutiny reversed that policy, and the continuance of the Native States under certain conditions has since become the recognised and declared policy which has been, as instances have shown, faithfully adhered to. It may be stated that the policy has given extreme satisfaction to the inhabitants of the whole of India.

Undoubtedly, then, the Native States will continue to enjoy an individual existence in the British Indian Empire, but what happens to the question of providing for the progressive happiness of the people of those States? The evils of the rule of an absolute despot, notwithstanding the chances of his occasional spurts of beneficence, are too well known to be stated. Many of the advanced nations of Europe have long recognised a constitutional form of Government as the only form most calculated to effect progress in civilization.

Two of the prominent members of the then Government of Bombay recommended, in 1874, to the Viceroy, Lord Northbrook, in reference to the question of reforming the then misgovernment of the State of Baroda, that "the annexation of a Native State, in consequence of the misgovernment of its Ruler, or even the temporary assumption of management by British officials for a limited term, would not be justifiable

on the part of the Paramount Power, while any other remedy was practicable, which, while preserving the integrity of the State, would give it a fair chance of reforming itself, and putting a termination to the evils and abuses which have necessitated external interference. And the natural and just remedy for the existing state of things* (at Baroda) appears to me* to be to force the Maharaja to give to his subjects a written constitution to which, after it has been once settled, he will be bound to conform, under pain of being set aside in favour of the next heir, in case of any violation on his part of the compact so made."

Anything short of a Constitution can scarcely answer the requirements of the situation. At one time the expedient was tried of appointing a Minister to the Chief whose character and general capacity for business would approve themselves to the British authorities. On occasions such appointments of Ministers fulfilled all the expectations formed of them. For instance Puntaiya, the Dewan of Mysore, appointed by Lord Wellesley, Chaudoodal of Hyderabad (though at a later period of his career he gave cause for dissatisfaction), Raja Sir T. Madhav Rao, the first Salar Jung of Hyderabad, Gowrishankar of Bhavnagar, and several others. But this expedient was found to be inconvenient as it afforded the ruling Prince opportunities to be an everlasting critic and grumbler, shirking all responsibility from his own shoulders, and losing no excuse to put obstacles in the way of the British approved Dewan. The policy now in vogue is that of the personal responsibility of the ruler himself.

Such are the ups and downs of the British policy with regard to the management of the Native States. It will be admitted that a true solution has yet to be found for the difficult problem. Be it noted that the question concerns the well-being and political progress of the subjects of the Native States who, by the policy of the Subsidiary Alliances inaugurated by Lord Wellesley a century ago, have been deprived of all chance of enjoying either the benefits of *direct* British administration like their relations, friends and kith and kin living in British India, or of squaring their matters in their own way as they did before such treaties stereotyped the existing Native Indian Ruling Dynasties. Every practical sympathy may be bestowed upon these unfortunate people. Their situation calls for improvement. They should be admitted to the benefits of the British rule in India. Their lot in life should be bettered. They are at present shut out from all avenues of power or ambition or distinction in the British Indian Empire. The Sirdars and aristocracy of the Native

* The Honourable Mr. Tucker, Counsellor.

States find themselves vegetating. Their Prince cannot lead them to honour and glory. An inglorious existence, a life without hopes, is all that is theirs. Such a state of things within the heart of the British Indian Empire cannot be considered satisfactory. The only remedy appears to be to tackle the question boldly ; to assure the Princes and aristocracy, and the people generally, of the Native States that as they are members of the great British Indian Empire they will be admitted to the privileges of it, and that within the States themselves they will be accorded an efficient voice in the administration. Partially such a state of things has been inaugurated in the Mysore State, and it would be a step in the right direction to extend similar "Constitutional" arrangements to other Native States.

What is here suggested is nothing new. In their Dispatch to Viscount Cranbrook, Secretary of State for India, No. 124 (Foreign Department), dated Simla, 22nd May, 1879, the Government of Lord Lytton, in paragraph 4, observed:—

"It is necessary to maintain the dignity and comparative independence of his Highness, by reserving to him personally some substantial share in the actual direction of the affairs of his State; remembering that in the great majority of the States of India the Chief's authority is by theory, though not actually, unlimited. But this consideration has to be subordinate to the still more essential necessity of providing beforehand some positive guarantees and checks against the consequences which would follow any serious misuse of the Chief's power through inexperience, through an unfortunate disposition, or under the advice of bad counsellors."

They proposed to impose a "Constitution" upon the Ruler of Mysore, which was eventually approved of and sanctioned by the Cabinet in England, and in paragraph 25 of the same Dispatch they suggested the application of the policy of introducing a Constitutional Administration in all the Native States, in the following terms:—

"That policy proceeds upon the broad principle that in order to guard against chronic misrule in a Native State, and to obviate the necessity for frequent and arbitrary interposition by the Supreme Government to remedy the consequences of such misrule, it is expedient to avail ourselves of every opportunity of placing some reasonable limitations upon the personal power of the Ruler or of the Minister, to whom the administration may be entrusted. The limitations thus imposed must be brought on public record, in order to place them beyond question or controversy; and in certain cases the general power of supervision to be exercised by the Supreme Government may need to be strengthened and extended.

If the application of these principles to Mysore be approved by Her Majesty's Government, they may form the groundwork of a settled policy which will guide the Government of India in the general discharge of its responsibilities toward feudatory States. A new and valuable precedent will have been established, and this, with the experience which will have been gained in Mysore, may enable us in future to deal systematically with similar questions of re-organization or reform. The contrast presented by the steady growth of orderly civilization in British India, and the increased publicity that is now given to the internal condition of our feudatory States, are likely to render more and more imperative the duty of interference in restraint of serious mismanagement. We may thus hope gradually to raise the general standard of administration in the Native States, and to make some progress toward the important political object of consolidating their institutions upon an improved and staple foundation."

It is true that the circumstances of the rendition of the Mysore State to its Native Ruler were somewhat peculiar ; but taking a statesman-like view of the situation as herein-before described, it would be, perhaps, expedient to adopt and adapt the Mysore Constitution without much loss of time in respect of the remaining important Native States. Such a policy would be just to the people of the Native States, and would be fruitful of beneficial results. The Mysore administration has admittedly given satisfaction, and proved the wisdom of the policy of a "Constitution" for the Native States of India. The people of these States must be given a living interest in their own welfare and in the concerns of the wide, wide British Indian Empire. At present they are left to the tender mercies of their incompetent Indian Sovereigns. Why not lift them from the slough of political despondency in which they find themselves ? And I address this appeal to the British nation on their behalf. It is obvious that the British nation is responsible for, and interested in, the well-being of these people quite as much as in that of the British Indians under its *direct* rule.

AN INDIAN STATESMAN.

ART. V.—THE GREAT WALL OF CHINA.

A HALF-BRICK reposes on my table as I write. It is of a blueish clay, encrusted with the dust of 2,100 years. It formed part of the Great Wall of China, said to have been built by Shih-Hwang-Ti, the so-called First Emperor of China. I picked up this brick of the Great Wall, some four or five miles from its terminus on the shores of the Gulf of Pe-chi-li in Northern China, and though in appearance it is as uninteresting a relic as one could imagine, it certainly possesses a fascination and interest of its own. I paid a visit the other day to the Mineralogical Museum in Jermyn Street and the Curator was good enough to point out to me two other bricks, bigger and of irregular shape, but of the same blueish clay as my more symmetrical fragment *

More than one traveller has remarked that the Great Wall once seen can never be effaced from the memory, and it certainly appealed to me in this way. The more I gazed upon it and scrutinized its structure, the more I read about it (and the material is widely scattered and difficult to hunt up) the deeper has its interest taken root in one's mind. Williams in his "Middle Kingdom" remarks truly enough that the public works of China are probably unique for the amount of labour bestowed on them. But though he acknowledges that the aspect of the country has been materially changed by them, he goes on to remark, not so justly in my opinion, that their usefulness or the science exhibited in their construction is far inferior to their extent. Now the science exhibited in both the Great Wall and the Grand Canal was undoubtedly very great and they seem to me to have answered their purpose, the former for sixteen centuries and the latter for all time, if it were only dredged out in parts and the banks systematically kept in repair.

The most difficult thing when you are discussing the Great Wall is to generalize with safety. Its length is variously stated at from 1,255 to 3,000 miles, its height is variously given from forty feet to ten feet or even less, and its antiquity, in parts, certainly dates back further than 221 B.C., the reputed date of its origin, while additions to it and repairs have been made at various times, some as late as the period of the last Japanese war. The structure, though continuous in many

* These specimens at Jermyn Street are labelled "sun-dried" bricks, but I am inclined to think they are baked in the regular way, because Dr. Abel in 1816 made some experiments which proved that the brick clay of China, though red at first, turns blue under the action of fire.

parts, is patchwork. But the Northern Wall is usually regarded as the Great Wall *par excellence*. Starting from the sea at Shan-hai-kwan, it forms the northern boundary of Chih-li, traverses the provinces of Shansi and Shensi and running north-west, bounds the province of Kansu, till it dies away in the desert, east of Sha-chaü.

Mr. H. A. Giles, probably the best authority, gives the length, presumably of this northern portion, at about 1,400 English statute miles. He says that Shih-Hwang-Ti, its reputed builder, called it the Red Fort, as an addition to the nine old frontier forts which guarded the Empire of China. At intervals of one hundred yards or so are towers some forty feet high, the whole being built of brick, except towards its western extremity, where it is barely more than a huge mud bank.

I have remarked above that the structure was patchwork and this holds good in a chronological sense, for when Shih-Hwang-Ti built it, there were three sections already in existence. From B. C. 1400 to B. C. 200 there are to be found in Chinese works laconic notices of conflicts with Tartar nomads from the north, dates being given in each case, so that they may be fairly accepted as history. Three of the independent princes who occupied States in the modern province of Chih-li, Shansi, and Shensi, each conceived the idea of repelling these attacks by ramparts along their frontiers. Chao-Wuling, who adopted Tartar costume, built a wall from north-eastern Shensi to the westernmost extremity of the Ordos country, as the region within the huge northern loop of the Yellow River is now called. Another section was built further west by a Tsin prince. To the east the ruler of the frontier state of Yen, which, roughly speaking, corresponds with the plain of modern Peking, constructed a lengthy wall from about the longitude of Peking to the sea.

In B. C. 221 Shih-Hwang-Ti found himself master of the whole of China from the plains of Chih-li to the banks of the Yangtze and from the great Tung-ting lake in Hunan to the shores of the Eastern Sea. He thereupon mapped out the empire into thirty-six territorial divisions and proclaimed himself First Emperor of China with the understanding that his successors were to be called Second, Third, Fourth Emperors, and so on. Everything, including literature, as Mr. Giles tells us, was to commence from the First Emperor's reign, so on the advice of his Prime Minister, Li Ssu, who had been historiographer and ought to have known better, he issued that monstrous edict by which all books, excepting those relating to agriculture, medicine and divination were to be burned. The penalty against anybody who failed to surrender his books

for destruction was branding and four years labour on the Great Wall. In fact 460 of the literati were actually buried alive at Hsien-yang, the capital of Shensi. Even the Confucian Canons would have perished, had it not been for the devotion of some scholars, who at great risk concealed the tablets and thus facilitated the restoration of the sacred text. The Emperor despatched his Commander-in-Chief, Meng T'ien, at the head of a vast host, to drive back the dreaded Hsiung-nu or Turki tribes of the north, to build the Great Wall and to permanently shut them out. In view, however, of the then existing portions of the Wall, Mr. Parker considers that Meng T'ien and his half million slaves did little more than to improve and consolidate the ancient work, so that much of this vast structure, the most noticeable artificial work on the face of the globe, would appear to be really more than 2,100 years old.

Considering its extraordinary length it is astonishing there is not more on record about the Wall as a whole. Where it comes to its end on the shore of the Gulf of Pe-chi-li it has been inspected by several travellers, and a few days' journey north of Peking, the Wall has been visited and described by scores of tourists. But for the rest we are dependent on a surprisingly small number of notices of those who have crossed it at detached points.

Of the Shan-hai-kwan end or beginning, whichever you choose to call it, one of the best accounts I have seen is quite a recent one, by Miss Eliza Scidmore, in her brightly-written book, "China the long-lived Empire." She remarks naively, that at first sight it looks exactly like its pictures in school-geographies!

"One had half expected that it would not, could not, be so irrationally, unpractically picturesque, so uselessly solid and stupendous, but the first Emperor builded better than he knew. It is one of the few great sights of the world that is not disappointing. It grows upon one, hour by hour, and from the incredible it becomes credible."

The Wall of the ten thousand li (a li is usually reckoned as one-third of a mile) or Wan-li-Chang-Ching, once dipped down to the very edge of the sea and ended in a great tower founded on a reef that juts out from the shore. Only crumbling fragments of the Wall now touch the water. About fifty years ago the Steamer "Reynard" paid a visit here, and a correspondent wrote an account which appeared in an illustrated paper, and which is so interesting that I am tempted to disinter it from the accumulated dust of half a century.

"Viewed from the water the terminus appeared to consist of a fortress, some three hundred yards in length, having a

large gateway in the southern face, close outside of which and between it and the sea is a permanent joss-house or temple, while the northern end is surmounted by a modern two-storied guard-house immediately beneath the wall projects seaward.

"At 10 A.M. we landed a large party to the right of the joss-house on a steep sandy beach and were civilly received by a white-buttoned mandarin and a small party of soldiers who informed us we were perfectly at liberty to inspect the Wall at our leisure. We therefore soon ascended to it by a broad inclined plane outside the fort and found ourselves on a rectangular platform about sixteen feet in length paved with dark blue-coloured bricks. This portion of the structure from its apparent appearance seems to have been the original terminus of the Wall while owing, probably, to the receding of the water, the re-mentioned lower continuation projecting seaward—now a mass of ruins half-buried in the sand—appears a structure of much later date.

"The first objects that attracted attention on the platform were three monumental slabs of black marble—two standing close to the Wall, the third removed from its base; a curiously carved altar-shaped pedestal lay extended on the ground. On one of the standing slabs was deeply inscribed the sentence, 'Heaven created earth and sea,' on the other 'Only a spoonful.'* The import of the latter sentence we were at a loss to conjecture, it may have reference to the placid waters of the Gulf of Liantung; perhaps is intended as an allusion to the nothingness of the vast structure when compared with the works of creation. The fallen monument, having a very long inscription, we left to be deciphered on our return from the survey of the Wall, which we could no longer delay.

Ascending again by a broad flight of steps from the platform to the top of the fort, we walked (a dilapidated building) down another shorter inclined plane and then along the wall, which we found for about eight hundred yards in a very ruinous condition, the first part of it being little better than an embankment of sand, broken at intervals by projecting masses of ruined brickwork.

"At half a mile distance from the fort, however, the Wall commences to show a better state of preservation, here we found it measure thirty-nine feet across; the platform was covered with mould and variegated with flowers of every hue. The Wall on the Tartar side at this point shows a fine, well-built foundation of hewn granite, surmounted by a slanting brick facing, measuring together thirty-five feet in height; above

this is a brick parapet, seven feet high and eighteen inches thick, divided by small embrasures at irregular intervals from eight to thirteen feet apart.

"At intervals varying in distance from two hundred to five hundred yards the wall is flanked on the Tartar side by towers of brick, forty-five feet square and fifty-two feet high. The one we examined was entered from the wall by an arched granite doorway, six and a half feet high by three and half feet broad. The construction of this arch is most remarkable, for the Chinese have long ceased to use keystones in their arches. A flight of steps to the right, within the doorway, leads up to the flat roof of the tower, which is surrounded by a parapet like that upon the Wall. The body of the tower is intersected at right angles by low arched vaults, each terminating in an embrasure of which there are three in each outer face. From the construction of these vaults, they seem to have been built for archers and spearmen and not for any kind of artillery; there was no vestige of a parapet on the Chinese side of the Wall, except in the low towers on the face which intervenes midway between those on the outer, but are not vaulted.

"From this tower, which is the second inland, the wall continues, apparently more or less in a ruined state, for about three miles in a N. N. W. direction over a fine undulating country. It then takes a sudden curve to the S.-W. passing near a large town called Shan-hai-wei. The only gate through the Wall in this district is about three miles inland and is called the Shan-hai-kwan."

NOTE.—The Editor of the *Chinese Repository*, which reprinted the above says the latter of the two sentences is a quotation from the *Chung Ying* and means that the sea is only a handful and taken in conjunction with the first that "Heaven created (or spread out) the sea and the mountains" may allude to the surrounding prospect of sea and land. The whole sentence (reproduced in facsimile in the *Illustrated London News*) is "the waters, though they are (and appear to be) only a handful, are yet unfathomable, and the turtle, the crocodile, the dragon and other monsters dwell in them." I may mention that the *Illustrated London News* also reproduces four sketches of the Great Wall, taken, no doubt, by their correspondent.

Lieutenant Shore, R. N., who touched near Shan-hai-kwan in his cruise in H. M. S. "Lapwing" in 1880, remarked that the Wall was in a very ruinous condition and near the beach was buried by sand, which in the course of centuries had drifted up to the top forming an easy ascent. Besides the watch towers it had been strengthened at intervals by walled enclosures for the accommodation of troops. These usually commanded a gateway or some important line of communication, while to prevent an active foe from sneaking round unobserved, the Wall had been carried out some fifty yards into the sea and this portion was built of granite.

A short distance from the shore the Wall encircles the village of Ninghai, and beyond that it runs northwards to join the city of Shan-hai-wei. Here the Great Wall has been cut for a gap of about seventy-five yards to admit of the rails of the Northern Chinese line pursuing their level tenour towards Niu-chwang; on that side the Wall presents a bold face of gray brick and stone, with towers and projecting bastions, a formidable defence against the hordes of wild horse-men in the days of cross-bow warfare. On the inner or Chinese side, the Wall is a sloping embankment, stone and brick facings and cross-walls cropping out here and there. Miss Scidmore remarks truly enough, that it has evidently been a builder's quarry for all the Shan-hai-kwan plain and there are still bricks to spare by millions, from remnants of walls that run here and there in aimless way on the inner side.

"Wall-building must have been a habit or mania with these people in early days, and they built walls when they had nothing else to do, to pass the time and keep the people out of mischief. Weeds and brambles conceal the flagging of the terre-pleine, parapets are gone, and many watch-towers have fallen, but a few towers are occupied by poor tillers of the soil and their swarming families."

It is curious to learn that when the breach was made the railway engineers came across the pile foundations put in somewhere about twenty-two centuries ago. The wood was petrified but well-preserved, and many interesting souvenirs have been made from the portions taken up. A few months ago Mr. Aingier, the editor of the *London and China Telegraph*, passed here on his way to the north-east, and found that all the old guns which I saw in 1893 had been removed from the Wall. They were curious old weapons, still serviceable, but of no real military value now-a-days, their sole interest being their antiquity.

From the north-east angle of the town of Shan-hai-wei the Wall issues forth and crosses a flat campagna on its way to the mountains. Emerging from the city gate, which is crowned with a big ramshackle fort with a painted guns on it, my friends and I traversed this open space in springless mule carts, a mode of conveyance which is not so bad, if you sit on the shaft or side of the vehicle, letting your legs dangle as the Neapolitan drivers do. The track ran roughly parallel to the Wall, which is here a lofty and important affair, with room enough on the top for several horse-men, to ride abreast. There is a wide gap where a river, no doubt in chronic flood, has demolished the piers and supports. From thence the Wall sweeps up the mountains, which here rise from the plain to the height of two or three thousand feet. Its upward

40 feet square and as many in height to so low as 4 feet square and 6 feet high. The larger towers are entered by a flight of steps usually completed by loose stones, which lead to a small arch, at about half the height of the tower from the base. The platform alone appears to be intended for defence, as there are very rarely ports to be discovered in the sides.

After passing another Gate nearer to the old Tartar boundary and going through a perpendicular defile formed by high and massive walls, the travellers arrived at "Koo-pe-koo," which was the residence of the strong garrison placed for the defence of the outer wall in this part of it. It was closed by concentric works united with the main Wall, (p. 188.)

About 40 miles north of Peking the Wall bifurcates, the outer wall trending west with a wide loop to the north and the inner wall running south-west and then west to join the outer wall a little east of the Yellow River in about the same latitude as Peking, while a branch runs two hundred miles, starting from about longitude 114° east, at the point where the inner changes its direction from south-west to west. The regular route from Peking to Russian Siberia runs north-west and consequently passes through both the inner and outer walls. Colonel Peshevalsky, the distinguished Asiatic explorer, thus describes the pass through which the caravan and post roads lead from the steppes to the Great (Outer) Wall:—

"Steep hill sides, deep valleys, lofty precipices, sharp peaks often crowned with overhanging rocks and an appearance of savage grandeur, are the chief characteristics of the mountains along the axis of which is carried the Great Wall. It is built of large stones cemented together with mortar, the Wall itself being tapering, 21 feet high and about 28 feet wide at the foundation. At the Chinese entrance to the pass stands the frontier fort of Kalgan."

Some fifty miles further (*i.e.*, southward) lies the inner wall. Peshevalsky thus refers to it:—

"Along the crest of the mountains at the egress of which is Nankau, is built the second or inner wall, far greater and more massive than that of Kalgan. It is composed of great slabs of granite, with brick battlements on the summit. The loftiest points are crowned with watch towers. Beyond it are three other walls, about 2 miles apart. These walls block the pass of Gwankan, with double gates, but the last of all in the direction of Peking has triple gates."

Tradition has it that the Emperor Shih-hwang-ti resided in one of the fortresses in the Nankau Pass, while he was superintending the building of the Wall there. But the Wall now seen is, in my opinion, not the Wall of Shih-hwang-ti, but the more massive structure re-built by the Mings in the fifteenth

century. The pass itself is described by S. W. Williams as "a remarkable Thermopylæ" 15 miles long.

Dr. Bushell in his trip does not appear to have crossed the northern Wall at Kalgan as most people do; that being the caravan and post road to Kiachta, but to have turned to the left and crossed it some "distance west of Kalgan. It is curious how perfunctory the constructive care and skill became, as the Wall was prolonged further westward. Near the boundary between Chih-li and Shensi Dr. Bushell remarked of it:—

"It consists of a mere heap of rubbish of rough unhewn fragments, collected from the *débris* of the adjacent black volcanic rocks, and there are traces of connecting mortar. Massive square towers of solid brick with an earthen core have been erected at intervals of 2 or 3 hundred feet, but they are now fast crumbling into ruins. This is known as the boundary Wall by the Chinese, and was made probably about the 12th century."

As mentioned above, the inner and outer walls unite just to the east of the Yellow River which, as long as it runs north and south, forms the boundary between the provinces of Shansi and Shensi. From near this point the Wall dips S. W. forming the northern boundary of Shensi. It subtends the great northward loop of the Yellow River, and encloses the desert wastes of the Ordos Mongol Country on the south and east, finally rejoining the river at the town of Ning-hia. Here it has been visited by Obruchef, the Russian geologist, Rockhill and Littledale. Rockhill followed its course up and alongside of the Yellow River for some considerable distance, nearly as far as Lanchow, but nowhere did he find any trace of brick or stone facing. It was entirely of earth, varying in height from 15 to 20 feet, with watch towers at frequent intervals. West and north-west of Lanchow there is one wall, if not two, probably erected to afford additional protection to that city, which occupies so important a position on the high-road from the west to Singanfu, the old Sera Metropolis of Pliny and former capital of China.

In its further course north-west, bounding the narrow neck of the Province of Kansu on the side of the Mongolian desert, the object of the Wall was obviously to guard the great line of route from Western Asia and Europe. Baron F. von Richthofen has explained this clearly with the aid of some excellent maps in the first volume of his work on China. His opinion is that the Wall ended a good deal further west than is usually supposed. The last important gate in the Great Wall is called Kia-yu-kwan, and lies 200 li or about 70 miles west of the town of Su-chow. Kia-yu-kwan means "the customs

barrier of the noble *yü*," the costly species of nephrite formerly brought from Khotan by the southern route along the margin of the Tarim desert, a route which was followed by Marco Polo more than 700 years ago, but by no traveller since. This gate and another gate, Yu-monn-kwan, still further west, had both fiscal and strategic importance. But it is important to notice that in former times these gates lay further west than at present. In fact the Wall altogether seems to have extended in early times a good deal further into the desert towards Lake Lob, for Mr. Littledale who, in 1893, travelled along part of the old route from the lake to Sha-chau, says that some miles west of that town he came upon, and followed, for 7 or 8 miles, an embankment which he was satisfied must have been part of the Great Wall, although he had never heard it came so far west. My idea is that the sands gradually overspread most of the oases along the fringe of the desert and caused the southern route to fall into entire disuse, and that this, combined with misgovernment and neglect, caused a general falling off of traffic and population in these outlying districts and led to the old gates being deserted and shifted further east.

Viewing the great work as a whole I cannot refrain from quoting a few remarks by Mr. S. Wells Williams, whose "Middle Kingdom" is so picturesque and accepted an authority on things Chinese:—

"The impression left upon the mind of a foreigner on seeing this monument of human toil and unrenumerative outlay is respect for a people that could in any manner build it. Standing on the peak at Ku-pei-kow (Old North Gate) one sees the cloud-capped towers extending away along the declivities in single files both east and west, until dwarfed by miles and miles of skyward perspective, as they dwindle into minute piles, yet stand with solemn stillness where they were stationed twenty centuries ago as though condemned to wait the march of time till their builders returned. The crumbling dike at their feet may be followed winding, leaping across gorges, defiles and steeps, now buried in some chasm, now scaling the cliffs and slopes in very exuberance of power and wantonness, as it vanishes in a thin, shadowy line at the horizon. Once seen the Great Wall of China can never be forgotten."

In these days of modern armaments, writers are too much inclined to make light of the Great Wall, and to argue that even if it ever was of any defensive use, the northern nomads and savage hordes must have been very easily frightened. I cannot concur in this. As a mere monument of constructive skill it is very remarkable. The design constantly varied in proportion to the nature of the ground: where the plain was

level, as at Shan-hai-kwan, the structure was lofty and broad at the top, capable of accommodating large bodies of defenders. Where it ascends the first gradual mountain slopes, and a hostile attack would be more hampered by the ground, the breadth of the Wall narrows somewhat, but even then, there are a parapet, embrasures and steps, where required, leading up to the watch towers. Where the crest, along which the Wall ran was precipitous and a sufficient defence in itself, the Wall was, proportionately reduced, but even then it is continuous, for the Great Emperor's commands were peremptory and the rampart must run without intermission for its whole extent.

As to the political effects of this scientific frontier, the greatest the world has ever seen, these were undoubtedly considerable as it thrust back the onsets of a long-dreaded enemy, it helped to unite and centralize, under one rule, the formerly independent frontier principalities, it provided a strategic base of communication for the Chinese with the countries of the west, and lastly it compelled the hordes of Tartars to divert their attention away from China to the nations of the west, and thus led to national migrations and conquests which have profoundly affected the history of the world.

CHARLES E. D. BLACK.

ART. VI.—BARODA CENSUS REPORT, 1901.*

THIS is a very large Report, extending, as it does, to close on 700 pages, folio. The area and population 8,099 square miles and 1,952,692 souls (462,704 less than in 1891) scarcely justify such a big Report. The interests involved and the information supplied do, or must be supposed to do. I have no doubt His Highness Mahārajah Gackwar, Sir Sayaji Rao III, does not grudge the expense incurred in the preparing and furnishing of such valuable information. In looking at the map one is struck at once by the extent of His Highness' territories east and west, north and south—from Krishna's sacred Dwarka on the Arabian Sea, 68° 58' to 74° East, and from Bilimoria in Surat, 20° 45' to 24° North. Of course the whole country lying within these limits is not under His Highness. His territories are simply scattered widely in large and small portions over the whole of it, but occupying not the half of it. It is divided into four Districts called *Prants*, viz., Kadi, Baroda, Navsari and Amreli.

The people are spoken of as the exclusive Gujarati and Dakshinā Brahmans in State service, the soldierly Maharata of Baroda, the enterprising Parsi of Navsari, the turbulent Wagher of Dwarka, the sturdy Kathi of Amreli, the trading Vohoras of Sidhpur, the Agricultural Patidar of Petlad, the animistic Dharka of Songhad, and the representatives of many other castes and creeds, tribes and races, in almost endless variety.

Education and the want of it are represented in like variety, from the college with its students' residential quarters, botanical garden, cricket ground, tennis court and gymnasium; and the female Training College specially constructed for grown-up women, just outside the city and its Sursagar tank with its underground aqueduct, down to the hundreds of thousands of Animists or Anaryans who know not one letter from another.

The object of most interest to Hindus outside His Highness' territories, as also of no small interest to students of mythology, is the town of Dwarka, Krishna's old capital to which he had taken the 16,000 maidens he had kidnapped from Gowhati in Assam, and where the Yadavas his descendants, including his 180,000 sons, having quarrelled among themselves after a drunken bout were annihilated. The plundering Waghers of the present day have still to be kept under restraint by strict supervision, a daily roll-call of the whole

* By J. A. Dalal, M A, LL.D, Census Superintendent.

Wagher population being taken in their villages, and their movements thus forcibly confined within limited areas. They are, Mr. Dalal says, "steeped in ignorance and poverty." "Thousands of devout pilgrims, notwithstanding the rigour and difficulty of the journey, resort to Dwarka every year and purify their bodies by a dip in the salt waters of the Gomati, and thus think themselves purged of their sins." In the extreme north of His Highness' territories at *Sidhpur*, "is the only place in the whole of India which can afford *Moksha* (absolute salvation) to the souls of the mothers, if *Pindas* are offered to them on the banks of a small tank in the vicinity, after a purificatory bath in the sacred river, *Saraswati*, which is reputed to be the daughter of Brahma."

Mr. Dalal gives as an explanation of the decrease in the Hindu population, as contrasted with the growth of the Muhammadans, the fact that "the marriages are so ill-matched among the Gujarati Hindus that there is a double check on the increase of births, the absence of procreative powers in the males, and the consequent barrenness of the females. If the mass of the people here err on any side, it is on that of breaking through all the checks to population over which they may exercise a control if they choose. To compensate for this they help materially in adding to the victims of epidemics, insanitation and scarcity, by weak and underfed constitutions, by insanitary habits, and by poverty arising from imprudent or indiscriminate marriages, also by shattering the constitutions of women, in forcing on them an early maternity and by procreating a very feeble progeny." These are very heavy charges against the Hindus of Baroda.

RELIGION AND RELIGIOUS SECTS.

The population of Baroda (nearly 2,000,000) include

1,546,992 Hindus	176,250 Animists,
165,014 Muhammadans,	48,290 Jains,
8,409 Parsis,	7,691 Christians,
38 Sikhs,	50 Aryas,
8 Jews and	6 Brahmos.

As contrasted with the census of 1891, Buddhists and "other religions" have disappeared, and Arya-Samajists have appeared for the first time in a Baroda State Census.

Attention is directed to the fact that what the Census Commissioner asks is not what books on these religions supply, but something original and interesting outside the books, as to what is the actual working belief of the ordinary man, his standards of right and wrong, and what he supposes will happen to him if he disregards these standards. In the case of new sects, or sects which have not found their way into

the standard works, a brief description of their history and of their characteristic tenets, is requested.

It must be admitted that in most Reports all this is more or less faithfully attended to, and it is so very fully, by Mr. Dalal.

Hinduism.

Mr. Dalal reminds us that the word *Hindu* is of comparatively late and foreign origin. The Persians corrupted the Sanskrit name of the river *Sindhu* into *Hindu* and called the people who lived on the east side of the river *Hindus*, and the Musulman and Christian called the religion 'Hinduism;' and now the ancient Aryas of Arya-bharta call themselves Hindus or Indians, and their ancient religion (*Arya Dharma* or *Sanatan Dharma*) they call Hinduism. It may be noted that the Arya-Samajists object to this terminology. Nay more, the religion itself has undergone such a complete change as scarcely to retain a patch of the original composition like the Irishman's coat, or, changing the figure, it is changed, lock, stock and barrel. So much so that while it is quite easy to define the *Arya Dharma* or *Sanatan Dharma* it is utterly impossible to define Hinduism. Scholars have to satisfy themselves with negations such as "natives of India who are not Musulmans, Christians, Jains, Sikhs or Buddhists are Hindus," or otherwise—"natives of India who do not belong to the *x*, *y*, *z*, or any other known religion of the world," are Hindus. It is all tolerant, all compliant, all comprehensive, all absorbing (barring the fact that it cannot absorb *x*, *y*, *z*, religions). "It has its pure and its impure aspects. It has a side for the sensuous and sensual; those who are addicted to sensual objects may have their tastes here gratified;" and (as in other religions) less questionable tastes.

"In the temples dedicated to Siva are to be found the idols not of Siva's person, but of his consort Parvati, of Gonesh, and Hanuman and of his emblem [the indecent Lingam] and the figure of a bull. In the temples dedicated to Vishnu, only the idols of Vishnu and his better half, are found, and similarly those dedicated to the goddesses, only their idols are to be seen. The Siva worship is attributed by many to Sankar-acharya, although he himself is represented by some to have had a preference for Vaishnavism (or Saktaism) and by some for Vedantism. In the Siva worship the devotees after taking a bath, pour cold water on the *Linga*, then offer some *chandan* (sandal wood) and flowers, and meditate on the deity by uttering his *mantra* (i.e. his magical word of power), and at the same time dropping down a bead from the rosary of *Rudraksha* beads which the worshipper has in his hand. . . . Like the worshippers of other deities, those of Siva

are expected to offer him food before they partake of any. The food so offered usually reverts to the worshippers of the other deities, but that offered to Siva can only be accepted by a person belonging to a special caste to whom alone are entrusted the public functions of keeping a Siva temple clean, and removing the stale *puja* materials from the emblematic deity, which by prescription can be completely washed by a person of this caste only."

The *puja* of the goddess is also performed in temples specially dedicated to her. The images therein are named according to the fancies of the donors of the temples, but generally the names are *Amba*, *Bahuchara*, *Kali* and *Durga*. [It is rather curious to find that both Calcutta and Bombay are called after names of this goddess.] The worship by the general mass of the people is performed from a distance by simply bowing down before her and offering her cocoanuts which the Pujaris break, returning half of each to the devotee who offers it. Still her *puja* is not as elaborate as that of Vishnu. Animal food and wine or spirit are offered to the goddess, but not to Vishnu or Siva. Her worship is specially done during the *Navratras*, i.e., nine nights. These *Navratras* are four in number in any one year. During these days males and females resort to her temples and worship the goddess as *sakti*. On the ninth day they place before the goddess a luxurious dinner, at which animal food and wine or spirit are partaken of by those who can : others in the place of these put before her pieces of brown pumpkin with red powder sprinkled over them, to make them look like meat. Women in His Highness' territories sing songs in the streets to the honour of the goddess. The songs may be of any kind. It matters not whether they do or do not relate to gods or goddesses. It is noticeable, as indicative of Hindu exclusiveness, that "all unclean castes are religiously excluded" from the temples of the great deities ; and, of course, much more all the out-castes or Animistic tribes. And, indeed, almost all castes, other than the twice-born, are kept at a longer distance and are not allowed to touch the images in the temples.

So far of what is called *public worship*, a word as to *private and other worship*. Only the higher class Hindus, i. e., the majority of the twice-born keep the images of the five gods—Siva, Vishnu, Parvati, Ganesh, and Surya—in their houses for purposes of worship, the deity most revered being allowed to occupy the central seat, leaving the remaining four to occupy the surrounding four quarters. Those who perform the private worship, having done their morning ablutions, place their household deities in a pot or vessel ; then bathe them and anoint them with sandal wood paste ; and then

place flowers before them. They then light ghee-lamps, burn incense, and place some smeatmeats before them and recite prayers. They then wave lights before them. When the noon meal is ready, they place a dish of cooked food before them, and after a time remove it. Madhava Vaishnavas place before their deity the entire quantity of food prepared, and remove it for personal use only after the same has been offered wholesale to the object of their worship.

Almost all Hindus worship the sun in one form or another. The Brahmans worship him by performing the *Sandhya* adoration every morning by offering *Arghyas*. They at the same time recite the *Gayatri Mantra*. Other Hindus worship the sun every morning by bowing down to him after cleaning their teeth and washing their faces. Some make it a rule to take their meals only after worshipping him; and in so doing, sometimes in the rainy season, they have to fast for a day or two, if heavy collections of clouds obscure the sun. The elephant-headed Gonesh, the remover of obstacles, is invariably worshipped by the Hindus on every auspicious occasion.

The Hindus worship the planet which the astrologer may have proclaimed to be the cause of injury or mischief to them. Of course they worship cows, bullocks and serpents, but it is not so widely known that they worship the mongoose from a superstitious belief that it would prevent danger to children in the worshipper's house. Various trees are also worshipped, the *Bilwa* or *Bel* fruit tree, because it is believed to have been produced from *Parvati's* perspiration, and therefore an object of favour with Siva. The marriage of the *Tulsi* plant with Vishnu is celebrated in every pious Hindu's house; and, on a grander scale, in the temples it is dedicated to Vishnu, with the same rituals as at ordinary marriages.

Of stones the worship of the Ammonite fossil known as *Shalgram*, representing Vishnu, is among the most popular. The fossil is deemed worthy of worship only when procured from the Gundak river in Bengal. *Sankha* (conches) and the *chakra* (a coral formation) are worshipped as the war horn and war weapon of Krishna. Swords and tridents are worshipped by the followers of Devi on Navratra days.

To all these objects of worship must be added the *guru*, *acharya* or religious preceptor who is worshipped in the same way as he himself worships the idols. Yet in spite of all this, the unclean castes are completely excluded from participation in public worship, and the lower castes are kept at a distance, so that the majority of castes have no private worship whatever, and yet all of them are Hindus in caste. "The result of this differentiating treatment has been the utter ignorance of the lower classes in matters of ritual and

the forms and objects of worship. Many of them naturally do not know why they are called Hindus, or what it is which constitutes Hinduism." Alas! their betters are not much wiser, despite their high privileges. It is somewhat curious to note that "the rigour of the observance of fasts goes on lessening, the lower we go in the scale of castes, until it is non-existent among the unclean castes: 'The phrase unclean castes' does not mean that they are immoral or irreligious. They may be more moral and more religious than many in the so-called clean castes, as also cleaner physically. Mr. Dalal touches on the moral teaching of Hinduism—"Every Hindu believes that he will be able to wash off his sins by performing a penance or by giving *dan* to Brahmans who have proclaimed that pardon, and even merit, will be obtained through their agency. People, therefore, have always to engage them and to pay them for the services they render. The evil of the system is obvious; it leads to the monstrous belief that evil deeds of whatever enormity can be atoned for and expiated by money. And it supports an idle mischievous priesthood which thrives indirectly on the commission of sinful acts by offering premiums for their perpetration. It soothes the conscience of the evil doer; it feeds the lazy priesthood, while it sinks all of them lower in morality."

"The mass of the people in general are also firm believers in the existence of spirits, goblins and the like. When a person is suddenly taken ill, say through hysteria or convulsions, they ascribe it to the spirits, and at once send for *Bhuvras* to exorcise the spirit. The belief is very common that the dead turn to ghosts (*bhuta*), if the obsequies are not performed, or if the dead had some special thing left undone in life, or even if the dead had an enmity against particular individuals. Then the ghosts would not consent to be exorcised, until all these were remedied, including the taking of the life of the enemy. Of course it is only the Brahman who can get rid of such 'uncanny possessions.' Allied to this belief is the belief in the efficacy of *mantras* or spells. The Hindus have *mantras* good as well as bad. Among the former are those believed to be able to remove scorpion bite and snake-poison; and among the latter are those for bringing any individual desired under one's own control and for killing men. These *mantras* are believed to be efficacious only if their possessors observed certain prescribed rules of conduct and renewed them every year on the midnight of the 14th day of the dark half of the month of Aswin."

Mr. Dalal then proceeds to show how the Brahmans lose no opportunity or device to squeeze money out of the poor.

MAIN SECTS.

The three great sects of the Baroda State are Saivites, (276,489), the Vaishnavas (1,010,351), and the Saktas (260,096), also called *Devi-bhaktas*. The worshippers of Ganesh and Hanuman are mostly also worshippers of Siva; and there is no mention of any worshippers of Brahma. The sacred books of these different worshippers are not the Vedas. Each sect has its own book or books. The Saivites have the *Siva Puran* and the *Siva Gita*; the Vaishnavas have the *Bhagwat*, the *Gita* and the *Ramayana*; and the Saktas have the *Devi Puran* and the *Chandi*, or the *Saptisati* [and the secret *Tantras*]. From these sects, many sub-sects or creeds have already grown up and are still growing up. The Saivites have no sub-sects or creeds.

The Nimbaraks worship Radha and Krishna jointly and revere the *Bhagwat* as their chief sacred book.

The *Madhavacharis* are the followers of the Rishi Madhava, born about the 12th century as an avatar of the wind god. In his temples are found images of Siva, Durga and Ganesha, side by side with those of Vishnu and his consort, Luxmi. He is specially known for his opposition to Sankaracharya's pantheistic monism, in the interest of theistic dualism, known as *Dvaitism*. The principal doctrine of the sect is that the divine soul is quite distinct from the human soul, and hence it is utterly impossible for them to unite; or, in other words, God and man have a real and eternally distinct existence. The sect is strong in South India.

The *Vallabhacharis* (183,000 strong) are the followers of Vallabha, born 1479, as an incarnation of Krishna. He taught that privation formed no part of sanctity; and that the god should be worshipped by offering rich apparel, costly ornaments and excellent food; and further that sanctity did not exist in solitude and mortification of the body, but in the pleasures of society and in worldly enjoyment. The chief deities worshipped by the sect are Krishna and Radha. The heads of the different divisions of the sect are known as Maharajas, who "are so devotedly respected and worshipped by their followers that it has given occasion to many a scandal about them;—the *jus primæ noctis* being also allowed to them by some cases." They became notorious in connection with the libel prosecuted in the Bombay High Court by one of these Maharajas in 1862.

The *Ramanandis* (upwards of half a million strong) were founded as a sect in the beginning of the 14th century by Ramananda a disciple of Ramanuja. He is said to have preached the abolition of caste. Among his most illustrious disciples were a Rajput, a weaver, a *chamar*, and a barber.

The *Kabir Panthis* have neither idols nor frontal caste or sect marks ; still adoration is allowed by the founder's tenets to Vishnu or Rama as names for the one God. The founder's name is respected equally by Hindus and Musulmans.

The sect of *Swami Narayan*, who was born in Oudh about 1780 A. D. and died about 1836, is 90,000 strong. The founder, offended at some of the practices of the Vallabha-charis, preached chastity and purity of soul as the key-note of religion. His preachings are contained in a book called *Shiksha Patri*.

The *Radha Vallabhi* sect worship Krishna and Radha ; but more Radha than Krishna. They are also called *Pranamis*, as they salute one another by the word *Pranam*.

The *Khijada Panth* or sect do not worship any idol or image ; but they worship the holy book of Sri-mad Bhagwat in their temples and other places of worship, reminding one of the Sikhs in the Punjab and the Mahapurusias in Assam. The sect includes Brahmans, Vaniyas, Kanbis, Rajputs, Kan-saras, smiths, carpenters, and the like, but excluding the low and unclean castes.

The *Gopinath Panth* is a subdivision of the Ramanuja sect, who are generally men from the higher castes and whose religious book is the *Gupta Manjari*. In some places they worship Thakorji, Lalji, Ranchodji and Narsinghji instead of Rama.

The followers of the *Surya Upasak* creed and the *Ravi Sahab* sub-sect worship the sun and consider their creed to be as pure as the golden light of the sun.

The *Latvadia Panth* do not worship any idol or image ; but they worship an old Banyan tree, also other Banyans, Peepal, Mango and Limba trees and of course the Basil plant.

The *Nakalanki Panth* worship the deity called *Kalanki*, 10th incarnation of Vishnu. Their temples contain brass idols of this deity mounted on horses of brass. Three women, Bai Rudi, Bai Rani and Bai Jivi rose to great fame 100 years ago, and were revered like goddesses and recognised as the founders of the creed.

The *Apadan* sect worship the *Padukas* (feet impressions) of Apadan or Thakorji. All castes save the "unclean castes" are admitted. They revere the Peepul, the Tulsi, and the cow.

The *Saji Sawai Panth* keep no idols in their temples ; but have generally simple pictures of *Boudhya Kalanki*, which look like those of a Rajput Raja ; and two other pictures of *Paris* (heavenly damsels), having the faces of a female, but the bodies of a horse. In front of them are placed the sacred books

of Bhagwat and Bhagwat-Gita ; " all these together form the object of daily worship with the followers of this creed." " The unclean castes are not admitted." " They are strictly forbidden to eat *asafetida*, onions, garlic and opium, or to smoke ganja and tobacco and to take English medicines. They do not worship any tree or animal."

Bhagal's Panth do not worship any idol or image, but adore a rosary of Basil beads and a turban supposed to belong to their *guru* : both of which are placed on a *gadi* (throne) in their temples. They resemble in various points the Vaishnavas and adore the Peepul, the Tulsi, and the cow.

The *Patwala Panth* worship the god *Patwala* and a sacred book called *Pothi*. They are Brahmans, Banias, and others of the higher castes. They bow to the cow generally every morning and adore the Peepul.

The *Uda Kabir-panth* practise *jap* or mental worship, and carry their dead with tom-tom and music. The occasion is considered one of joy, as the departed goes to a better region. All weeping and grief are prohibited.

The *Santram Panth* worship the *Padukas* (feet impressions) of their *guru*. Their sacred book is *Guru Wani* and they forbid all begging. Only *Sadhus* who have severed their connection with the world are allowed to worship their deity—the feet impressions in their temples. They bow to the Tulsi and the cow whenever they see them. Their *Sadhus* are not cremated but buried standing.

The *Ramdevji Panth* also worship the *Padukas* of their founder who was believed to be an incarnation of Krishna. They also worship the image of a horse, made either of rags or metal, representing the founder's pet horse. The principal temple, which is in Ranuja in Marwar, contains the feet impressions, as also four horses of metal for the four *Yugas* or Ages. The creed was proclaimed and promulgated in Gujarat by an Audich-Brahman widow. She is still living and known as a sincere and pious devotee of this creed. A novice on paying his initiation fee gets in return one of the many horses of rags offered by the devotees, and he buys a pair of *paglas* of Ramdevji sold in the shops. The horse and the *paglas* he takes home with him and worships them daily. Devotees of the low and unclean castes are allowed to eat flesh and drink wine or spirits. In a grand procession the deity is carried in a palanquin, accompanied by torches, tom-toms, a band and other musical instruments. They revere the horse as a pet of their adored deity.

Bija Panth (120,000 strong) worship Radha-Krishna. Potters, Barbers, Atits, Rajputs, Rabaris, Charans, Bhats and such other low castes join them ; but none from the higher

or from the degraded and unclean. A meeting of the members for the *Patha* is generally held at the house of one of the followers at dead of night, with closed doors. A *kotwal* or guard stands at the door to prevent the entrance of a stranger. Women take as active a part in the meeting as the men. Incantations are muttered over ghêe-ignited lamps, standing on heaps of grain. Bhajans and songs in praise of Krishna or Radha-Vallabha are sung 'by turns or in a chorus, and the whole night spent in singing and merriment.

The *Kachalia Panth* is believed to be very immoral and to prevail in Baroda State. Therefore none censured themselves as such. The women deposit their *kachalis* (bodices) in a heap, and each passes the evening with him who picks up her *kachali*.

The *Gonesh Panth* (17,647 strong) can interdine but not intermarry. They eat the flesh of dead animals, such as the cow, buffalo, and goat, and drink liquors. They have secret meetings like those of the *Bija Panth*.

The *Narsingha Panth* (6,500 strong) worship the half man, half lion incarnation of Vishnu.

The *Garuda Panth* worship *Garuda*, the "Lord of Eagles and Vultures," the chosen conveyance or bearer of Vishnu.

The *Shakta* sects (260,096 strong) are classed as *Dakshina-Margi* and *Vama-Margi*. The first worship the goddesses openly; the latter in secret. Their Scriptures (the *Tantras*) are also secret. The majority of *Devi's* followers have returned the names of the goddess they worship as their sub-sect, which were only different names of one and the same goddess. They "are generally members of the illiterate classes as *Rabaris*, *Kolis* and the like, and consequently are unable [or unwilling] to show us even the A, B, C of what they believe and profess. They are also called *Devi Bhaktas*." "The sacred books held in veneration by the devotees of each of these sects are the *Siva Paran* and the *Siva Gita* for the followers of *Siva*; the *Bhagwat* and the *Bhagabat Gita* and the *Ramayana* for the followers of *Vishnu* and the *Devi Puran* (*Kalika Puran*?) and the *Chandi Patha*, or the *Sapta Sati* for the followers of *Sakti* or *Devi*."

Mr. Dalal summarises the influence of Hinduism in the Baroda State in a few instructive sentences which I here quote:—"The prevailing religion in this part of India is the Hindu religion; and it is well known that Hinduism is as much a social as a religious institution. It has no doubt certain principles of morality, mostly philosophical, and mystical speculations, underlying its manifold ceremonials and observances; but they require philosophical expositions also, which are not such as are comprehended by the multitude. An

ordinary Hindu is a Hindu, not so much because he believes in certain dogmas (as in the case of other religions) as regards the creation, or as regards his own existence, his conduct of life and a hereafter, as because he observes and performs, or partakes in a series of ritualistic ceremonies on domestic occurrences connected with himself or members of his family or on certain sacred days. An orthodox Hindu deems himself superior to the other nations around him, because he belongs to a certain caste, and can give dinners on certain prescribed and acknowledged occasions to members of that caste, and is himself invited to them by his caste people, because he receives certain religious services at the hands of the family Brahman, because he is allowed to eat the food cooked by persons of his own or superior Hindu castes only, and so forth. The immediate and powerful effect of this religious sanctity, pervading all the concerns of life, is the influence the Hindu religion exercises in matters relating to birth, marriage and death, sanitation and vitality—matters with which a census is most intimately concerned. . . . Early marriages, for instance, or unequal marriages, and prohibitions of widow re-marriage, afford statistics to account for a large infant mortality, a heavy per-centage of deaths among child mothers, repeated marriages among males, a large per-centage of widows, and a very small one of 'singles,' as compared with other nations. All these could finally be traced to the customs and regulations which are strongly enjoined by the prevailing religion. . . . The Hindu religion possesses an astounding capacity of deglutition." The vitality of the Hindu religion consists in the principle of systematic subordination, which is born with his life and continues its sway till the Hindu dies. Reforms of all sorts are powerless against this impregnable bulwark; for, however loud might be the cry for freedom of conscience, the mind of the individual alone cannot act independently of the caste. It should not escape notice however that the Hindus have lost large numbers from their folds. Among these are enormous numbers of Muhammiadans, *including many censused as Hindus.*

"The Vohoras, the Memans, and Khojas have parted company with Hinduism anyhow; but we have the Momnas and the Molesalams who have not taken the full stride yet, they have one foot in each religion, and though they may not be called 'Hindus' it is equally hard to call them Musalmans. They resemble the Hindus so much that were it not for their part in the Mohurram procession of Tadjas (and that too in the form of an appendix) the world outside would have no reason to suspect that they were not Hindus."

Jains, Parsis, Mostims, Aryas, and Brahmos.—A word or two

on each of these. The *Jains*, 48,290 strong, formally reject the Vedas, yet call themselves Hindus. They observe caste distinctions and sometimes intermarry with Hindus. The sacred books of the Svetambari Jains are in the Magadhi Prakrit language, and those of the Digambari Jains in Sanskrit. The Dhundia Jains "carry the doctrine of the preservation of animal life to a shocking extent; and are therefore revoltingly filthy in many ways. They do not bathe for days together for fear of killing vermin, do not eat root vegetables, do not have lamps at night in their homes, and refrain from doing many things which had better be kept unsaid to avoid wounding the sense of decency of the readers."

The Jains are famous for the beauty and cleanliness of their temples "a great contrast to the Hindu temples of worship."

The *Parsi* population of Baroda State numbered only 8,409 souls. What the Brahman is to the Hindu, the *Mobed* is to the Parsi. His stronghold is in Navsari in Baroda for some centuries. Thither he migrated from Persia. No religious ceremony can be performed, no marriage tie can be knit, no prayers after the dead can be recited, and no funeral service can be held, except by the Mobeds. Their sacred thread is known as the *kasti*. Their mode of disposing of the dead is characteristic and connected with the veneration given to fire.

The *Muhammadian* sects dwelt on by Mr. Dalal are *Hajia* Panth, *Mahomedi* Panth, the *Pirana* sect or *Kaka* Panthi, and the *Agakhan* sect, the only *Shah* sect found in Baroda. The Moslems decreased by 23,726 souls in the decade.

"The *Arya Samajists* find a place in the table for religions for the first time in 1901. The numbers of the *Brahma Samajists* for the two decades are identical, and therefore show no variation. The figures for the two Samajists have been shown among the Hindus.

The *Sikhs* show an increase of 27 souls over 1891, and are thus $3\frac{1}{2}$ times greater than their original number!

• THE ANIMISTICS.

These worship spirits or souls, good and bad, the latter being the more important, and taken more notice of. The main object, in the first place, is to get power over the spirits by magic, and in a higher stage of belief to propitiate them by gifts and homage. The Kolis and the Kanbis who were originally the aborigines, having yielded to Brahmanic control, are classed as Hindus. The Animistic deities are spoken of as the greater deities and the lesser, and special deities. While the Animists retain their old aboriginal beliefs and

worship, they are also greatly influenced by the spirit of Hinduism. They number 876,250 in Baroda State.

CHRISTIANS.

Considering that there are less than 8,000 Christians in the whole State, and that Mr. Dalal's distribution is per 10,000, his figures appear larger than they really are. His words may be given (ignoring the decimals) for what they are worth. "Out of every 10,000 Christians distributed in the different divisions or districts of the State there are 78 Christians in Amreli, 31 in Kadi, 8,828 in Baroda, 1,006 in the City, and 55 in Navsari. A comparison of those figures with those for the years 1891 and 1881 shows that there is an increase of 7,946 and 7,829 respectively in Baroda, and a decrease in all the remaining divisions among Christians; from which fact it can be inferred that in the Baroda Division there is an abnormal increase, reducing thereby all other proportions. The reason of it has been already assigned." The reason, I take it, is that given in the words—"7,045 souls were taken to the fold of Christianity, by the Missionaries during the famine years," thus helping to reduce the Hindu population by 513,531 or nearly 25 per cent. Again—"The increased proportions of variations among the Animistics and the Christians need no further remarks; for their variations do not allow comparison owing to exceptional circumstances." Still Mr. Dalal enters into further comparisons when he tells us that the Christians are 1.26 per cent. in Baroda, 0.74 in the City, 0.04 per cent. in Kadi, and 0.015 per cent. in Navsari. It is still, it will be seen, the day of small things with the Christians in the Baroda State. While decrease is the key-note of religion as of the whole population. Mr. Dalal is able to add—"except in Kadi, there is an increase among the Christians everywhere." "It appears that the Christians have increased in all the Divisions of the State, except Kadi and the City, where they show a decrease of 24 in the former and 36 in the latter. In Amreli there is an increase of 47, in Navsari of 19, in Baroda of 6,733, and in the Cantonment of 306."

Taking the denominations into consideration, we find that only two (the Presbyterian and the 'Minor') show a decrease. The Irish Presbyterian Mission, the only Presbyterian one, some years ago, withdrew from Baroda city and opened up new work among the "Jungle Tribes." Their Mission, known as the Gujarat and Kattiawar Mission (including the J. T. Mission) has increased in the decade from 2,162 in 1891 to 6,282 in 1901. Most of these live in British territory outside the Baroda State.

Again, says Mr. Dalal, there is a very large decrease in the 'unreturned,' due to the observance by the Missionaries of the instructions issued to them in this behalf. The rest show an increase, the Anglicans of 6,897, the Methodists of 143, the Romans of 106, the Lutherans of 7, and of one Baptist. The Native Christians of the whole State increased from 386 to 7,543, thus showing a total increase of 7,157 in the decade.

On these figures Mr. Dalal remarks—"It has already been said that this large increase is due to the efforts of the Missionaries in collecting into their folds the distressed people and waifs of the famine. Many persons when they had no means of sustenance abandoned their children whom the Missionaries willingly took to the orphanages which they had founded in the Cantonment and other places. Many grown-up people also embraced Christianity on being supplied with food and work." "The preponderance of Christians in rural areas can be explained by considering that the Missionaries were naturally able to make more converts among the famishing villagers than among the town folks." The largest ratio of town-living Christians is found in the towns of the Baroda Division. The Gospel of Jesus has from the beginning commended itself to the poor and "heavy-laden."

AGE, SEX AND CIVIL CONDITION.

Having occupied so much space on the chapter on *religion and sects*, that on "age, sex and civil condition" must be disposed of very hurriedly. Here is a sex-note of some curious interest—"It is well known in our State and in British Gujarat that the two highest classes of Nagar Brahmans, the Vadnagaras and the Visnagaras, stand in diametrically opposite positions. The former are starved for women; and many a rich Vadnagara finds neither his money nor his position avail him in securing a consort for life; whereas among the Visnagaras, the father would be fortunate who is able to secure a husband for his daughter, yet both castes are Brahmans but they will not intermarry." Mr. Dalal further adds—"The defect in the number of females is not local or confined to this State or Census alone, but is found in British Gujarat and in all the other Divisions of the Bombay Presidency and in the whole of India. Madras, Central Provinces and Cochin form the only exceptions. This deficiency in the female numbers has prevailed since 1872, the year in which the first Indian Census was taken. But in Baroda State, it has gone on diminishing every Census. This is mainly due to a more accurate enumeration, and to the slow removal of prejudice against enumerating all the female members of a house."

Mr. Dalal does not show how this tells on the diminishing numbers of females.

Of the seasons deemed propitious for the commencement of married life, it is to be observed that the stars have to be consulted. "The superstitious Hindus would never take such a serious step without consulting the stars and omens, nor would the money-seeking astrologers allow their *Yajmans* to take this important step in their children's life without claiming their perquisites. . . . The lower castes do not wait for propitious months or days." The poorer castes have uniformly shown the highest ratio of females; and the richer and more luxurious castes lower ones. There are more male births in inland districts, with a sultry climate as in Baroda and Kadi, and more female births in coast regions.

"These two, a religious obligation to have a son (*putra*) and the marriage of girls at a tender age, form the foundation upon which the entire fabric of Hindu life in Gujarat is built. These lead to early and unequal marriages, to polygamy, to early maternity, to a large birth-rate, and a terrible mortality among children and child-mothers, to early decay in both sexes, and to a surfeit of widows. The Hindus are chain-bound by these tyrannical customs. Girls are carried through a formal ceremony of marriage at an infant age, and when as often is the case the husband is past 15 or 16, the parents of the husband 'count every day' to hasten matters as much as they can, to bring about the happy day of consummation. To those who have freely come in contact with Hindus belonging to many of the Gujarati castes, it is no revelation to know that numbers of these girls march from the nuptial bed to the funeral pile. [Hence the necessity of the age of Consent Act for all India.] Nervous debility, consumption, and uterine diseases create a havoc among them. It may be urged that generations of this usage and early training may have done something to mitigate the evil; but this mitigation, if at all, is of the slenderest; for not even a constitution of steel could stand against the ravages of this barbarous system. There is undoubtedly a large birth rate under these circumstances; but the children are so weak that they die off in numbers, mostly in the first year of existence, as has been abundantly testified by the age tables. So this much-marrying and much-begetting race does not ultimately profit by a permanent large population. The insane desire of having a son leads in some cases (though they are much less than what would be expected) to polygamy, whenever this object has remained unfulfilled, [and to useless pilgrimages to so-called sacred places as to Kamakhya in Assam, with frightful evils]. This desire of having a *putra* naturally gets

hold on a man's thoughts at the ebb of his life, and that his past efforts may not meet with failure he is led to covet a young wife; in some cases [indeed in almost all cases] only young girls are available as wives. A veil only must be drawn on the picture of a man in the December of his days espousing a girl younger than his daughter's daughter, by a former marriage or two. The prohibition of widow re-marriage presents another ghastly picture, where haply a beautiful young girl in her prime of life is denuded by force of the charms with which nature had invested her [and with which love had adorned her], and is forced to curb and control the revolts of the flesh. To these primary evils are added secondarily ones. . . . Such, in brief, are the principles on which works the Hindu marriage system, such are its baleful effects, and such the social and economic aspects of a Hindu house in the Baroda State, as far as the Civil Condition figures allow us to draw our inferences.' And let it be observed that the writer is an Indian, a lover of his country (not a Christian or Musalman) a high officer of Government, and that Government, the Baroda State of His Highness the Maharaja Sir Sayaji Rao III. Mr. Dalal writes what he believes to be the truth established by the figures of the Census tables before him, without fear or favour.

EDUCATION.

The Educational Department of the Baroda State is divided into two branches—(1) the Vernacular, under the control of an officer styled Vidyadhikari, and (2) the English branch under the direction of the Principal of Baroda College. In addition to the usual supply of boys and girls' schools, *senana* classes are opened for grown-up ladies who are taught the three R's and needle-work at hours when they can be free from domestic cares. Only women teachers are employed in these classes. Schools have also been opened for the Animists and the "unclean castes," "In the chapter on Religion and Castes," says Mr. Dalal, "are described some of the dark superstitious and barbarous ceremonies of these forest tribes," and the more the shame among sects and castes' from whom better things might be expected.

Of the close upon two million persons in the Baroda State, 1,781,421 are illiterate and only 171,271 are literate, and of these only 7,214 are females. Of the Christians, 734 are literate and 6,957 illiterate, nearly equally divided among the sexes. The number of the illiterates is kept so very low because of the large number of orphans received from the famine districts; but in a few years matters will undoubtedly improve.

LANGUAGE.

1,773,594 Barodians use the Gujarati language; 34,769 speak Hindustani, and 34,769 the Urdu. These two languages, though classed as two, are really one and the same language. Sixty-five dialects are spoken of as included in the Gipsy language alone, and eleven in the Bhil. The tables have given prominence to the fact that numbers actually speaking a language differ very materially from those who are *supposed* to speak them. Then the English language, as represented by words and expressions, is carried into all nooks and corners wherever the whistle of the steam-engine is heard.

INFIRMITIES.

2,832 suffer from the usual tabulated infirmities; of these 232 are insane, 674 are deaf-mutes, 1,649 are blind, and 277 are lepers. Not one insane is found among the Christians; they have one deaf-mute, one male and five females blind and three male leper. Objects of charity rescued in the famine, I suppose, none of these were found in the enumeration of the previous Census.

CASTE, TRIBE, AND RACE.

Under this heading Mr. Dalal returns to that knotty question—What is Hinduism?—and tells us that “the structure of Hindu society is caste.” But what of those sects which have dispensed with caste altogether? He adds—“One is a Hindu, not so much in consequence of following certain religious beliefs, as in being a member of a Hindu caste. A Hindu, particularly one of a higher caste, remains a Hindu so long as he performs certain duties by his caste and is recognised as a member of his caste; and so soon as any default places him outside the pale of the caste he is, to all intents and purposes, on a level, for the time being, with non-Hindus, in the eyes of his family and friends and his caste people. [This default may have nothing on earth to do with religion or morals.] Under such circumstances, his wife and children, too, have to suffer with him the pains and penalties of social [and religious] ostracism, which are as terrible as a social penal code could possibly devise.” It amounts, as regards penalty, to all that is included in the greater excommunication of the middle or dark ages of Europe.

There is a modified form of caste among those Mussalmans who are converts to their faith. “Though the Christians themselves have no castes, still converts to Christianity take a long time to forget caste exclusiveness among themselves.” This is specially seen among Roman Catholics. Hindu caste is centred in the Brahman, who alone can “intercede for the salvation of sinners living and dead.”

The origin of the various castes and sub-castes is involved in much mystery and embedded in countless myths—many of them unspeakable. Instance the origin of the Valkhilyas, 88,128 strong. "When Siva wished to marry Parvati (otherwise called Durga, Kali, &c) Brahma had taken upon himself the task of officiating as priest at the marriage ceremony. Sand was sprinkled over the ground, and on it the altar for performing the fire sacrifice was erected. While performing the ceremony Brahma became curious to see the bride's face. To gain his end clandestinely, he made the fuel to smoke. This smoke compelled the bride and the bridegroom to close their eyes; seizing this opportunity Brahma lifted the bride's veil and saw her face, when her unparalleled beauty and charms so excited his passion that he was powerless to resist it; and the sand became wet. Each particle of this sand was then turned into a Brahman by Siva. These 88 128 Brahmans, so created, are known as *Valkhilya*, because of their creation from particles of *valuka* (sand)." Mr. Dalal is responsible to us for the story; and one is tempted to ask are these Brahmans *Aryas*?

Dhinoja Modh Brahmans are traced to an origin scarcely more respectable. I again quote Mr. Dalal,—“While living in Modhera, the Modhs [Brahmans] used to keep a number of cows, which they were in the habit of sending to the jungles for grazing under the care of illiterate Brahmans in the town. Brahman maidens and widows used to carry their noon-day meals there as the youths had to stay there the whole day. From this practice matches were formed and illegal connections were the result. When this became known to the Brahmans they were enraged; but as it concerned the whole community, they built a new village on the pasture land and compelled those erring youths and maidens to settle there as a distinct community.” This was the origin of the *Dhinoja Modh Brahmans*.

The *Vayada Brahmans*, issued not from the head of Brahma, but from the brain or mental powers of a *rishi* or sage called Vadava, in acknowledgment, by the gods, of his severe austerities.

The *Disawal Brahmans*: “Brahma created 18,000 Brahmans from kusha grass and married them to 18,000 heavenly nymphs and settled the pairs” at Deesa, hence their name. The nymphs, however, jilted the Brahmans, and “the goddess” supplied them with girls kidnapped from other castes.

The *Bhatias*, a well-known caste in Western India, claim to be descended from Krishna. In the great war (see above) all his 180,000 sons with their families were destroyed save one, a great grandson; two brothers descended from him

propitiated the goddess so greatly by offering to burn their heads, that she said that they would be known to the world as Bhathias (from Bhathi) furnace, and would flourish and prosper when they would migrate to Cutch and Kathiawar.

The *Agarval Vanias* tell how their ancestor, Valabha, had a son by name Agra who married a serpent maid. He so much pleased the goddess Laksmi by his severe penances that he became wealthy and powerful. He then built a city named Agranagar, the modern Agra. He and his descendants were thenceforward known as Agarval Vanias. To show their relationship with the serpents, they still call them their *manu* (maternal uncle).

Modh Vanias. After the creation of the *Modh Brahmans*, Brahma sent for *kamadhenu*, the celestial cow, and ordered her to create 36,000 pious Vaishyas. The cow struck her front hoof against the earth and made a hole therein. From this hole 36,000 Vaishayas issued and were therefore styled *Gobhuj Vanias*.

Jharola Vanias: Brahma felt anxious about the livelihood of the Valkhilya Brahmans and so struck his feet against the earth. The dust that flew by so doing gave birth to 36,256 *Sat Sudras*. They were ordered by Brahma to support the Jharola Brahmans and were thenceforward known as *Jharola Vanias*.

Of the *Kadva Kunbis*, it is said, that when Siva performed austerities on Mount Kailasa, his spouse, to beguile the tedium of solitude, created fifty-two males and females from the perspiration on her waist. Siva was so pleased that he allowed these beings to descend to the plains and settle there under the name of Kadvas (from *ket* waist); and gave them *kana* (grain) and *bij* (seed). Hence they also called *Kunbis*.

A story is told of the *Ods* caste which deserves to be reproduced. Among them there was at one time a beautiful *Oden* (female *Od*) to whom the king made improper overtures. This enraged her so much that she pronounced a curse upon the king, and then committed suicide to escape dishonour.

The *Jigari-Patar* is that caste the members of which live upon the earnings of some of their female relatives who have been taken themselves to the profession of singing and dancing.

The occupation of the *Bhands* is also dancing, singing and dancing. Their name comes from *Bhand* to jest. Their jests and songs derive their piquancy from being extremely coarse, vulgar and indecent. The word is a bye-word for any one who is shameless in word or deed. There are Musalmans as well as Hindu *Bhands*.

The last caste is that of *Hijadas* or *Pavaiyas* (eunuchs) made so under the invocation of the goddess, who had ordered

the first to be unsexed. These people wear long hair, make their face smooth in imitation of the female face, dress themselves as females, and imitate all the blandishments and ways of speech of women, sing songs in honour of the goddess and live on alms, which, failing blandishments, they extort from the unwilling by abuse, exposing themselves and thus annoying people. The practise of castration was made criminal (as it is in the Indian Penal Code) by H. H. the present Maharajah in 1880, till which time it prevailed openly in the city of Baroda and at the temple of Sri-Bechraji.

All these castes, be it observed, belong to the *clean*. Then follows an account of the "unclean castes," with which I shall not meddle), nor with Mr. Dalal's "summary," and two lists, the first containing the names of 227 castes, the first eighty-seven of which are Brahmins; and the rest different Sudra castes. The other list is one of precedence among the different castes in the Baroda State. In this list there are sixty names of Brahman castes and twenty-seven Vania castes; of the Brahman castes as many as twenty-three castes sell their daughters as wives, and one other Brahman caste receive "money presents for their daughters;" seven Brahman castes re-marry their widows or allow their re-marriage. Of the Vania castes seven Brahman castes re-marry their widows. Fourteen Vania castes marry their daughters after they arrive at the age prescribed in the *Shastras*. One Vania caste is monogamous and its members are married in the *Brahma* form; another caste use the *Prajapaty* form of marriage; two others cannot show what form of marriage prevails among them; and yet another "have no fixed age for marriage at all." "Divorce, as a general rule, is allowed among all castes that permit widow re-marriage." The other castes do not recognise divorce. "In the higher classes no divorce is allowed except for some very cogent reasons, such as misconduct on the part of the wife and cruelty on the part of the husband."

ANIMISTICS.

Mr Dalal has very valuable paragraphs on the Animists, but they are too many and too long for my present paper. Still I may be allowed to cull a few facts and remarks. And first it is well to remember that these Animists were in India before the Aryan immigration. The Aryans were at first foreigners in India, and these Animists, the only natives, who very naturally did not receive the strangers very kindly; they were in return pelted with such abusive names as *Dasyas*, *Rakshasas*, *Pishachas*, monkeys—words indicating dread mixed with contempt. In the last of these words there are signs of a

policy or reconciliation. As a step to that end they borrowed the worship of some of the tribal deities of these foresters and assigned them a place in their pantheon. This policy of the ancestors of the modern Hindus has changed the aspect of their Vedic religion by importing into it the worship of goddesses, etc., to such a degree that, as said before, the lowest form of modern Hinduism differs now very little from Animism." Most Sanskrit scholars and ethnologists are now agreed that Durga, Kali, Siva, etc., are all aboriginal deities borrowed from Animists or *Anáryás* as they are called. They make use of the mantras or spells very freely to propitiate their local deities..

In the Baroda State, the Forest Tribes comprise sixteen races or tribes, nine per cent. of the total population, equal to three-fourths of the Brahmans and Kshatriyas taken together. The Gamits alone number 38,000, and the Bhils over 37,000 the Dublas 28,000 and Chodhras 23,000.

OCCUPATIONS.

My extracts from this chapter and remarks on it must be most meagre. It goes without saying that not only the pottery of Patan, but almost all Indian pottery is wanting in finish and durability, and is therefore not much in demand. The Hindu religion, which forbids the same earthen ware vessel to be twice used at a meal, is responsible for this. Most of the pottery used in India is coarse and unglazed. "The ware turned out by Patan potters is however glazed by a special process; but beyond forming articles for the drawing-room, they have no ordinary use for the people and therefore command no market."

Aerated waters and sherbat, which have taken such a general and strong hold on Bengalis, support but a very small number of Barodians, probably "because the people are too poor to afford that luxury and also became the orthodox object to such drinks."

"The entry under the head of opium factory is due to the State exercising the right of manufacturing opium in its own depôt."

Among religious occupations comes that of making and selling bangles, because it is a religious ordinance that married females should never remain without their *churis* (bracelets) on their arms.

Without counting the bangle-workers, Religion supports 37,916 persons, of whom the actual workers are 14,704 males and 3,536 females; the dependants are 19,676. Education supports 5,384 persons, of whom the actual workers are 2,373 males and 204 females; the dependants are 2,807. Literature supports 1,080 persons, of whom the actual workers are 499

males and 59 females, and the dependants 522. Law supports 1,487 persons, of whom the actual workers are 485 males and one female, and the dependants 1,001. Medicine supports 2,243, of whom the actual workers are 767 males and 132 females, the dependants 1,344. Pictorial art supports 985 persons, of whom 425 are males and 93 females. Music and dancing support 2,699 persons, of whom 1,029 males and 115 females are actual workers.

"Astrology and horoscope-making is carried on by 700 males and 98 females for the support of 1,485 persons. These men are known to the natives of the province as *joshis* or *bhogal bhatias*. The latter is a sort of nickname from the fact of some of them keeping in their turban a long roll of a paper almanac. They are not so learned as the *joshis*, and therefore flourish more in villages than in towns. All the Hindus and Jains without exception consult the astrologers on occasions of marriages. Horoscopes are always ordered to be cast by all classes of the people, to be consulted when ever there is any auspicious occasion or any illness or calamity in the family. On every occasion of consultation the *joshis* are paid either in corn or in money; on auspicious occasions they are paid more handsomely than on other occasions."

One hundred and twenty-seven females are prostitutes and support 156 persons; 58 males and three females work as procurers or pimps, and support 65 persons. Nine males are returned as receivers of stolen property. They support twenty persons.

CALCUTTA.

K. S. MACDONALD

ART. VII.—PHILIP DE BRITO,
A PORTUGUESE ADVENTURER IN BURMA.

WHEN Portugal held the proud distinction of being the first maritime power in the world; when the riches of the East flowed into and flooded the Lisbon markets, not a few of her adventurous sons set sail from her shores in pursuit of new discoveries. Gay blades were they all, ready to receive and return hard knocks. Some few, ruled as kings. Of the deeds of some, there are records, handing down their names to posterity; but, history is silent as to the majority. Nevertheless, they are not forgotten and their memories are kept alive—not by the subtlety of a Hume or the diffusive eloquence of a Gibbon but—by tradition, and their fame tinted by time.

I do not remember ever to have reaped such a plentiful harvest of reverie, as on my first visit to Syriam—to the ruins of the Roman Catholic Cathedral there. The sacred edifice is now roofless, and into the crevices of the walls, plants have forced their way and are gradually wrenching asunder the damaged masonry, helping time to complete its work of utter destruction.

But, I thought of the days when these, now crumbling walls echoed to the sounds of glorious music. How on this floor, knelt the Portuguese warriors, while at the Altar, brilliant with candle light, a priest of God offered the most sacred and awful of mysteries.

And now? All is desolation. Even the graves of the brave warriors are forgotten. The Syriam of to-day is a small village situated some four or five miles down the Rangoon river. At one time it held the proud position that Rangoon now boasts of. In those early days it was a most important centre of commerce, and three European Companies of traders had their factories and agents at Syriam. It was also the capital of a kingdom ruled over by a white man—a Portuguese adventurer named Philip De Brito.

Very little that is authentic is known of this De Brito. That he was in the employ of the king of Arracan; that he lived and ruled at Syriam as king, and built there a Church—these are facts. What further is known of him is tradition, much of it unreliable, but a good part, true. Handed down from father to son comes the story of the marvellous adventures of this Portuguese free lance; his fame, frequently retouched by the finger of time, has gained perhaps more than it has lost. The manner of his coming to Burma is not known, even inspir-

ed tradition on this point is silent ; but, as to his meeting with the king of Arracan, she says :

“ He came as a warrior, all clothed in armour and with but few followers. The king of Arracan, seeing him, was struck with his god-like appearance, and enquired who he was. But the man spake a strange tongue and none could understand him. ‘ He must be a holy man,’ said the king, and he commanded that the strange man be taken to a *H’poongi Kyawng* as the most fitting abode for such as he. ”

“ In a little while, the king, being occupied in wars with his neighbours, forgot all about the stranger, but in the meantime the man, with the beautiful countenance, had learned to speak and understand the Burmese language and he demanded an audience of the king. Now, at this time, because of a great victory, the people were holiday making, and the king had gathered all the famous athletes throughout his provinces, to perform before his subjects. There was therefore a great gathering when the stranger accompanied by another, his inferior in rank, was presented to the king. How the people stared at him in wonder, the men silently admiring his strength ; the women loud in their acclamations of his beauty ; but the stranger was unmoved either by the profound silence of the men or the loud ejaculations of the women. With measured steps he marched direct to where sat the king, and as he walked, the clanging of his armour sounded like distant thunder. For a brief space, the king looked at him, as much enchanted with his person as his people. At length he asked the stranger who he was and his business, and the man replied :

“ ‘ Sir, I am of a nation far beyond the seas. In my land every man is a warrior, the sword ever at his side. Therefore, O king ! my nation for the time being at peace with other nations, and my sword growing rusty in its scabbard, I and a few followers, have come to thee, to offer our services. ’ ”

“ Now, the king thought the man was lying, and answered him : ‘ O braggart ! We, too, are a nation of warriors, and did we but know the way to your country, would surely swallow it up that you be no more a nation. ’ ”

“ At that the stranger grew exceedingly angry. ”

“ ‘ By St. Thome ! ’ he cried, ‘ How ! Call me braggart ? Have a try, you or twenty of your men and singly will I do battle with you or them. ’ ”

“ The king smiled cunningly. He thought this a fine opportunity to prove the stranger a braggart. ”

“ ‘ So be it,’ said he. ‘ We always like to humour our guests. Twenty of my warriors will do battle with you. ’ ”

“ The warrior’s horse was brought by one of his followers. It was a noble animal and pranced and tossed its head declar-

ing its eagerness for the coming battle; and the man, De Brito, although clothed in heavy armour, sprang lightly into the saddle and called to the king to bring forth his men. The Burmese soldiers came forth, laughing, for it appeared ridiculous to them that they, twenty in number, should do battle with one man. The spectators were moved further back not to impede the movements of the combatants. The women, pitying the stranger, cried: '*Amâle! Amâle!*' but he sat unmoved on his warhorse.

"At a signal from the king, the drums beat the charge. The Burmese soldiers leaped into the air, shouting and making a great noise to intimidate the warrior, but he rushed to meet them, anxious as they to join battle. 'By St. Thome! By St. Thome!' was his battle cry which sounded loud above the roar of his opponent's voices. He charged into the centre of the men, and then there was such fighting as was never witnessed before. He clave men in halves. He smote off their heads, and with such force that one rolled to the feet of the king. Seeing that his war horse was helping him much, the Burmese soldiers slew the noble animal, and down came the warrior, and with a shock that made the ground tremble. But, he was on his feet quickly and proved he was master of his sword even on foot. Round and round he swung, his sword making a great circle, within the radius of which no life was safe, and when the soldiers held back, he rushed at them, cutting them down like *paddy*, at harvest time.

"'It is enough,' said the king when the remnant of his warriors had run to hide themselves. 'Thou hast conquered and art no braggart. We recall the appellation. Where are our soldiers? The bravest died nobly; the cowards will be found hiding under the *loongies* of their wives. Take them forth, for they must die, and at the hands of the executioner.'"

No doubt, time, and oft repetition, has added to the martial splendour of the Portuguese adventurer. It must also be remembered, that compared with the standard of Burmese courage, an ordinary act of daring would be considered by them a fit theme for song and praise; for the Burmese as a rule, fight from behind cover, refusing to meet an enemy face to face. A Burman to satisfy some paltry revenge, stabs his enemy from behind.

Tradition goes on to say that De Brito was made a General.

At this time, the kings of Ava, Pegu and Toungoo were warring among themselves, and taking advantage of these disagreements, the king of Arracan sent De Brito with an Army to capture Syrium; and with the aid of his friend Salvado Lebeira, De Brito successfully accomplished his task. The

Portuguese adventurer, however, was ambitious. He saw how easily the people could be subdued and determined to conquer a part, at least, of Burma, for himself. The opportunity soon presented itself. The king of Arracan appointed De Brito his agent at Syrium, and De Brito first built a Custom's-house, and then a fort to protect—so he said—the king's revenues, whereas the fort was built with the intent to protect himself against the attacks of the king, for De Brito had plotted with his friend Lebeira to make Syrium an independent kingdom. In order not, prematurely, to rouse a suspicion of his intentions, De Brito at first built only a small fort, and then gradually strengthened and enlarged it, while Lebeira drilled the soldiers, and when the fort was strong enough, and the soldiers had been taught how to fight after the manner of European troops, De Brito raised his standard and proclaimed himself king of Syrium.

On receipt of the news of the proclamation, the king of Arracan was justly incensed because of the traitorous conduct of the Portuguese adventurer, and sent a large army to chastise him; but De Brito's little band of trained soldiers was quite a match for the Arracanese hordes, and defeated them with great slaughter.

This initial success, fired De Brito's ambition to extend his conquests. He, however, recognised the impracticability of such an undertaking with the material at his disposal. His soldiers—compared with the soldiers of the king—were efficient, and their confidence in their leader strengthened by the recent victory. They were therefore quite a match for the Arracanese troops; but—the king had many armies. As one was vanquished, another was quickly ready to take its place, whereas, each fresh encounter would diminish De Brito's men, he having no reserve to fall back on. De Brito, therefore, determined to seek help from his countrymen in Portugal, and with this intention, set sail for Goa, the capital of the Portuguese possessions in India, leaving his friend, Lebeira, to govern Syrium during his absence.

De Brito had no intention of surrendering Syrium to the Portuguese Government, for the miserable stipend of 200,000 *reis* a year,* the salary paid to most of the Governors, was not to his liking. His proposal was that ships and men should be given him, and in exchange he promised to remit either to Goa or Portugal a percentage of his revenues. The king of

* 200,000 *reis* looks a large amount on paper. Let us, however, see what is its equivalent in English money 1000 *reis*=about \$0-4-6, ∴ 200,000 *reis*=\$45 a year or about Rs. 56 a month. Of course, in those days, the buying capacity of the *reis* was greater than now, but even then, no one would think the salary a princely one.

Portugal agreed to De Brito's conditions. The adventurer was not prepared for so ready an acceptance. He had his doubts. He was inclined to think that as soon as he had made his kingdom secure, the Home Government would demand Burma for the Crown, but he asked for no further explanations. He had six ships and men, and with these he set sail for his kingdom, without any further delay, for the absence of news for six long months had created anxiety in his mind as to how Lebeira was administering his estate. That Lebeira was loyal, De Brito had no doubts; and Lebeira was proving his loyalty, holding out as he was against the fierce attacks of the united armies of the kings of Arracan and Pegu. Months passed, and starvation was staring the small garrison in the face, when—six magnificent Portuguese ships sailed up the river. De Brito lost no time. He fell upon the invaders and defeated them with great slaughter.

De Brito, equipped as he now was, determined to follow up his beaten enemy. He invaded Pegu, and town after town fell to him, and the king of Pegu fled. After a short rest, De Brito advanced against his old master, the king of Arracan, and in a great battle completely defeated him and took his son prisoner. The date of this battle and the capture of the king's son is given as A.D. 1604. The king sued for peace. De Brito was proclaimed king of Pegu, and the king's son was returned to his people on the payment of a ransom of 50,000 crowns.

There was peace, now, and De Brito built him a church at Syriam, also a palace for himself and his wives (Burmese women). But his restless spirit ill brooked a life of ease, and it soon led him into mischief. On some pretence, he interfered with the kingdom of Toungoo, which was tributary to the kingdom of Ava, whose ruler Matha-Dama, was the most powerful in Burma.

In 1612, therefore, the kings of Ava and Toungoo invested Syriam both by land and sea. For months De Brito held out, on several occasions sallying forth and defeating the Burmese; but, one night, a treacherous hand opened the gates. The Burmese hosts rushed in and Syriam was taken. De Brito fell alive into the hands of his enemies, who in their revenge prepared for him a horrible death. In front of his palace he was impaled alive, and there he lingered for two days, suffering great agony.

Of the remaining Portuguese prisoners, some were executed (Lebeira among them) and others were transported to different parts of the Empire. Descendants of these Portuguese are still to be traced in Northern Burma. Their religion is a mixture of Christianity and Buddhism. The religion of their

fathers having readily coalesced with the doctrines of Buddha. For over a hundred years these captives had no spiritual adviser, and when in 1719 a Missionary of the Barnabite Mission was sent to them, he found very few even who knew anything of the Portuguese language. The captives had intermarried and their children no longer looked to Portugal for help. They were Burmese they said, and worshipped both Buddha and Christ.

Tradition speaks of De Brito as the first European to visit Burma. No date is given as to when he landed, but from the date of his great battle with the king of Arrakan, one is able to state definitely that European connection with Burma had been nearly a hundred years previous. It was in 1519 that the Portuguese concluded a treaty with the king of Pegu. Towards the close of the century the Dutch obtained possession of the Island of Negrais, and then, shortly after the capture and death of De Brito, the English East India Company had agents and factories at Syrium.

About the middle of the 17th century all the Europeans in Burma were expelled. The Dutch and the Portuguese never returned; the French, only for a short while, but the English came again and stayed. After a time, Syrium was deserted for Rangoon, and now, beyond the ruins of a church, a few tombs and the foundations of some buildings, nothing now remains to tell of Syrium's ancient glory.

It was in 1755 that Syrium was destroyed. The Talaing kingdom of Pegu, overthrew Ava, and after a few years of supremacy, the Talaings were overcome by a prince named Alompra who succeeded in uniting his countrymen and ruled supreme throughout Burma. To celebrate his conquest of the Talaings, Alompra destroyed Syrium and built Rangoon.

J. H. WILLMER.

ART. VIII.—THE ARABS AND THE ALLEGED BURNING OF THE ALEXANDRIAN LIBRARY.*

BY DR. KREHL.

(Translated from the German by G. K. Narimán)†

THE Arabs are still under the heavy suspicion, that it was they who burnt, in 642 A.D. at the time of the conquest of Alexandria, the Museum, and the Library in connection with it, which was there. The account on which the suspicion is based, apparently with the most complete and justifiable warrant, is to be met with in very important Arab authors like Abd-al-Latif‡, Makrizi§, Haji Khalifa|| and others: all historical authorities of the first rank, whose writings offer us so much important and material amount of information on the history, and the state of culture in the lands of Islam, that we feel easily tempted to give them full credence, with reference to this episode which has been handed down to us. But when we take into consideration the attitude of hostility which Islam, especially in the first years of its appearance, assumed against all other religions and culture developments, all scepticism on the authenticity of the account in question appears untenable. Haji Khalifa himself reports, that the Arabs in the opening stage of Islam cultivated no other science but the study of their own tongue, and the Koran, and the legal ordinances therein embodied, as well as medicine, the last being a science in no way prejudicial to their faith.

* Transactions of the Fourth International Congress of Orientalists

† The translator is responsible for the foot-notes.

‡ Abdul Latif did for Egypt, though not so thoroughly or critically what Al Biruni achieved for India in the tenth century. His best-known work is translated by J. de Saey. *Relation de l'Egypte*.

§ Abul Abbas Ahmed bin Ali bin Abda' Kadir bin Muhammad al Husaini Takiaddin al-Makrizi, to give him his full name, was born at Cairo in 1364, and was brought up by his grandfather in the Hanafite doctrine, which, after a course of study, he gave up in favour of the Shafi school, became a violent opponent of his quondam fellow believers, and even betrayed Zahirite learnings. The following year he performed the pilgrimage, and after occupying other posts, was appointed *mukhtasib* or prefect of the market police, and was by turns preacher in the mosque of Amr-ibn-al-As and at the Madresa of Sultan Hasan. He was, sometime professor at the great Colleges of Ashrafiya and Ikba'ya. Latterly he retired into private life devoting himself to literary pursuit. In 1430 he set out once more on the pilgrimage this time with his family, returning to Cairo in 1435. After a prolonged illness he died on the 27th Ramadhan 845 A. H. or February 6th 1442. For a long list of his works *vide* Brockelmann, *Gesch.-d.-Arab. Lit.* ii, 39.

|| Haji Khalifa, an officer in the bureau of the War Minister at Stambul (1658), wrote on political history and geography in Turkish, but his great bibliography of the whole Islamic literature is in Arabic.

They kept aloof from all the other sciences with rigid decisiveness, for thus only they believed they could keep their creed and dogma of Islam uncontaminated by alien or injurious influence. They apprehended that the more profoundly they occupied themselves with other branches of knowledge they drew the nearer to the peril* of this young faith being weakened. And Haji Khalifa expressly sets forth that they carried their zeal so far, that they consigned to flames all the books not written in the Arabic language, which they came across, in the countries they conquered*. This account of the beginning of Islam might emanate from a very posterior period, Haji Khalifa died in 1658, still we must say that it presents a perfectly true and correct delineation of the limited nature of the horizon of the then Arabs—a circumscribed horizon which did not extend beyond mere fanaticism.

Wherever the Arabs went beyond the bounds of their country, they met all alien civilisation with the same war of annihilation, their bigotry being chiefly directed against religious phenomena, and they strove to carry out the duty enjoined in the Koran to disseminate the religion of their prophet, to set aside all the obstacles in the way to its spread, and by its propagation, to fulfil the mission imposed upon them, namely, to make Islam the common property of all mankind, with all the means possible at their command. This religion is, according to the view of the Koran, preordained not to remain only within the confines of the Arab people “the best nation on the face of the earth,” but to become a world-religion, and every Muslim is stringently bound to fight against all who oppose the divine will, as revealed in the Koran. Universal war and annihilation were appointed for all who would not yield adherence to their confession of faith, “There is no God save Allah and Muhammad is the prophet of Allah.”

But the practice of every-day life was not so severe or uncompromising as the theory. Perusing the historical works bearing on the period, furnished us by the account of the subjugation of Syria, Persia and Egypt, we learn that the payment of the poll-tax delivered the non-Moslem from death or perpetual slavery, and that Jews and Christians in particular being the possessors of “Written revelation” were everywhere treated with comparative leniency and were certainly better off than the followers of other creeds.

The first fiery passion gradually cooled down, and the intelligence inherent in the Semites, as also the nobler instincts of humanity, conduced, eventually, to a sort of compromise between the scrupulous fulfilment of the written law and the laxer practice. This process repeated itself in all the countries

* *Lexicon bibliogr.* i 78.

which the Arabs reduced to subjection, and whether the law was to be carried out in all its severity, or the inhabitants of the newly-acquired territory were to be treated with mildness, depended upon the instructions which the individual generals received from their Commanders. Again a variety of influences naturally affected the judgment of the successors of Muhammad.

The sentimental Abu Bakr was fundamentally of a different temperament, from that of his successor, the active energetic, and in every way reckless Omar. One can scarcely imagine a more iron-resolution, a greater severity against self, a more disinterested impartiality, than Omar's, whom we must reckon the real founder of the secular empire of Islam. Already during the life-time of the prophet Muhammad, he distinguished himself by his personal intrepidity, as well as the strict discipline imposed upon the companions in arms placed under him, in every battle in which he took part, at Bedr, at Ohod, at Khaibar, and when in the August of 1634, at the death of Abu Bekr, who himself nominated him his successor, he came to the throne, the first thing that he undertook was to expel the Christians from Nejian and the Jews from Khaibar, for Mahammed had expressed the wish, on his death-bed, that in Arabia two religions should not flourish side by side. He desired, in other words, that the country whose people were the first objects of his prophetic mission should be kept pure and undefiled by external influences. It was accordingly one of the first obligations of his immediate successors, to carry out this last wish of their expiring apostle. Abu Bekr, however, could not bring himself to execute the behest owing to political exigencies. Omar, on the contrary, employed the first period of his reign to resume what Abu Bekr's procrastination had delayed so long. Christians and Jews were, all of a sudden, driven out from their residences in Central Arabia, and so the wish of the prophet was at last fulfilled.

If Omar was at first filled with a most virulent hatred against the new doctrine introduced by Muhammad a hatred which was so violent that he had already resolved to assassinate the prophet, this same passion, when he became a convert to Islam, as if by a miracle, was turned in the opposite direction and he became, from a terrible foe, a pillar of Islam*, duly appreciated by the discerning prophet. Till the end of his days, Omar kept up this ardent zeal for his creed. He subjugated himself to the severest self-denials, and imposed upon him-

* Omar's conversion was brought about by the language of the Koran which has ever since been considered the model of excellence (though on scanty grounds) see Grimme's *Mohammed* i, 35; and, for the æsthetic estimation of the Koran, *ibid* ii, 23 seq.

self hard obligations, eschewing all sensual pleasures:—with equal decision and strength of mind he conducted himself towards all those with whom he came in contact. His commands were to be implicitly and unconditionally obeyed, (though the moment he was convinced of his error on the authority of the Koran he was the first to acknowledge it). From a character imbued with such qualities we can, with justice, expect a deed such as the burning of the library of Alexandria. If the religion of the prophet to whom he had sworn allegiance in life and death was the sole verity, to acknowledge and disseminate which he considered it his duty, then the destruction of all influences detrimental to Islam must have been to him a sacred obligation, and a collection of writings which taught nothing of this religion must have appeared to his mind a dangerous accumulation of pernicious forces. We are compelled then to believe that he must have taken pains to demolish them.

Thus all the circumstances concur to lend countenance to the report transmitted to us by the Arab historiographers. And yet these reports are in the last degree unconvincing, and when we come to scrutinize them closely they stand shorn of all authenticity and probability.

Now let us consider the texts of these reports. The most exhaustive account of all, is the one by Abul Faraj in his *History of Dynasties* (p. 114). It runs thus:—"About this time (642 A.D.) flourished, among the Moslems, one Johannes, whom we call the grammarian, an inhabitant of Alexandria. He lived in the times when Amr-ibn-al-Asi captured Alexandria. He went to the latter, and Amr, who knew well what degree of knowledge he had attained, treated him with great respect, listening to his philosophical discourses to which the Arabs were so little accustomed, and which aroused astonishment and admiration. But Amr himself was a man of understanding, speedy resolve and clear notions, so that he attached himself to him and always kept him about him." One day Johannes told him:—"You have put under seal all the things that were to be found in the treasuries of Alexandria. Now as to whatever thereof may be of use to you I have no objection against the same; but as regards what can be of no utility to you that you must allow us to possess." Amr demanded: "What is it that can be of use to you?" Johannes replied, "The philosophical books which are in the Imperial Treasury." "They are not under my control," rejoined Amr,— "until I get permission from the Commander of the Faithful, Omar-ibn-al-Khattab, I can issue no orders touching these," and thereupon he wrote to Omar advising him of what Johannes had said. Then Omar sent the following brief reply:

"As regards the books of which you speak, they contain either what is in conformity with the book of God (that is the Koran), and in that case the book of God is all-sufficient and we need not these; or they contain what is contrary to the book of God, and in the latter case too we do not want them. Order then that they be destroyed." Amr-ibn-al-Asi accordingly had the books distributed among the baths of Alexandria in order to heat the same therewith and so they were consumed by fire in half a year.

This is, as we said, the most exhaustive account which has been vouchsafed to us, about the supposed fact, and which, besides, refers, not to the books of the Alexandrian Library, but only to the volumes preserved in the royal archives. Nevertheless it has always been considered as a notice of the burning of the Alexandrian Library attached to its Museum.

The narrative emanates, let it be particularly noted, from a Christian Syrian author who wrote in the Syriac or Arabic: an author who lived in the middle of the thirteenth century, and by consequence some 600 years subsequent to the event which he relates. But we have very full accounts of the taking of Alexandria, after a protracted siege, by Amr-ibn-al-Asi, the General of Omar, from the pen of very old writers like Beladhuri* Ibn-abd-al-Hakam and others. These accounts partly go into minute details giving the number of the baths, the gardens, etc., in the city, recounting in particular the acts of Omar, after he acquired possession of Alexandria; describing the amount of the poll-tax he imposed upon the Copts and the Jews, etc., and yet observing a perfect silence over the alleged fact communicated to us by Abul-Faraj.

Now this is extremely surprising. That an episode of such moment, as it could not but have been to the whole educated world at the time, under any circumstances, should be passed over in perfect silence, is in itself barely credible. From the view point of the orthodox Moslems, the instructions of Omar, and the putting into effect of the same by his General Amr, must have been no doubt an act worthy of fame, of which it was impossible they could have omitted all mention. But the order reported to us by Abul-Faraj by no means coincides with

* Beladhuri lived as a companion at the Court of the Khalifs Mutawakkil and Mustain. He was entrusted with the education of Abdullah (son of Khalif al Muataz), the unfortunate royal author. He died in consequence of an excessive dose of beladhor *atropa belladonna*, which is to this day considered a means for strengthening the memory in the popular pharmacopoeia of Morocco (Moulieras, *Le Maroc moderne* ii, 309). Like most of the best writers in Arabic, it may be, parenthetically, noted he came of Persian parentage and died in 892. None of his translations of Persian or probably Pahlavic works has come down to us, though the Fihrist mentions a metrical Ahd Ardeshir of the reign of King Ardeshir the Sassanide.

what we know from the oldest Arab historians about the measures Omar adopted in respect of the Egyptians.

The siege of the city lasted full fourteen months, and the garrison held out so long, because the city was open along the sea-coast, and the Greeks were constantly supplied, from that side, with succour in men, provisions, etc. It has been expressly related that the rich and the powerful turned to account this opportunity to convey their effects and property to places of security, that most of them emigrated, and that the remnant were no longer in a position to resist the increasingly energetic assaults of the Arabs. At last the city fell into the hands of the Moslims.

The victors were in extreme excitement. The soldiers vehemently demanded, and we are told, with unanimity, that the inhabitants be divided, that is, they be allotted as slaves to the conquerors and the immoveable property should become the asset of the Arabs. But Amr resisted the pressure brought to bear upon him, and appealed to the decision of the Khalif Omar, who was for milder measures towards the Christians, and decreed that a tribute be imposed in proportion to the property owned. The indwellers were assured, otherwise, of their life and property. In his order Omar kept himself well within the limits laid down in the Koran, inasmuch as it promises and guarantees the Jews and the Christians personal liberty and freedom to practice their own religion, provided only they pay the tribute and surrender themselves (compare Sura 9, 29). He could accordingly feel himself perfectly justified, from his rigid orthodox standpoint in this his element procedure, and it is not improbable that the extraordinary jubilation ensuing on the final capitulation of Alexandria, after enormous exertions and prolonged hard fighting, tempered and mollified his mind.

Now since this has been cited from the older sources, partly from accounts of immediate eye-witnesses, we are in a manner obliged to ascribe to it greater value and authenticity than the subsequent accounts, so divergent from these, and all the more so, because we find that elder authorities preserve the original and true traditions, with greater fidelity and less admixture of mendacity, than was the case with the latter-day scribes. To draw upon the old sources is the distinguishing characteristics of Arabic history, as written by the earlier authors.

The objection, that the silence of the primitive sources, cannot be adduced as evidence against the correctness of the report furnished by posterior times, since the anterior authors may have omitted the episode of set purpose, is from various grounds altogether untenable, for it is contrary to the specific

character of Arabic and, particularly, Semitic systems of recording history.

Let us, to digress for a moment, consider the system of their historical writings.

The lowest step is a sort of, chronological description of memorable contemporary events, which, at first had no other object beyond fixing the same in the memory of the people. The primary stage also took another shape, namely, geneological tables to which, as is well known, all the Semitic peoples of the East have been attaching so much weight, from remote antiquity downwards. Such registers of ancestry, and indubitable synchronous lists or catalogues, we find recorded, for instance, in the Pentateuch, and these simple written memorabilia are a proper basis upon which is constructed the historical descriptions. (compare the catalogue of places where the Israelites halted in the desert, Numbers 33.1-49). These, the most archaic records constitute the actual rough material which is incorporated, unaltered, in the histories. It is not interwoven with other extraneous matter, so that in most cases it is easily recognisable as appertaining to the past, and can be easily made out from the subsequent addenda. Add to this the oral reports of contemporaries, which at first were transmitted from generation to generation, and were committed to writing, in the majority of cases, only at a later period. In all cases, where the names of the verbal traditionists could be ascertained, the old Arab authors have preserved them with scrupulous exactitude, and this description of transmitted tradition is looked upon as incontestable, provided no link, as the Arabs put it, in the whole chain of authorities is missed, no matter however untrustworthy the contemporary or eye witness to the event may be, from whom the tradition first originated. The criterion of these primal sources as a satisfactory answer to the question whether the reporting contemporary was reliable or not, did not much concern the Arab annalists of old. In cases where they came across, in the list of their authorities several mutually contradictory dicta, they complacently placed them all alongside of each other, without troubling themselves to determine, which of them was worth the greatest credit, or whose report had the greatest intrinsic probability. It sometimes happened, though rarely, that their critical conscience was disturbed by the glaring inconsistencies of a succession of authorities whom they quietly quoted one after another. And then they expressed a pious *Vallahu-alam* (God knows it the best) pacifying themselves and their readers.

If, accordingly, the primitive historiographers of Arabia sink in our estimation, with respect to their value as historians, as thinkers and critics, we prize all the more the traditions

handed down by them to us, to alter or amend whose original shape, the older compilers did not dare. The text of the written material lying before them they reproduce with the most conscientious fidelity and care, keeping to the original, even to grammatical inaccuracies and errors. Their works are replete with historical rough ore, testifying to their inordinate industry, but these are, at the same time, in most cases, little more than uncritical compilations. They embody the whole material, which a discriminating hand must first glean and set in order, before he can work it up into a history, a real work of art. As we said, these productions are little better than preliminary rough work, because history as an art, is not what Arabs concern themselves with. It was even unknown to the later chroniclers like Al-Makkari*, who flourished in the seventeenth century. This celebrated writer was by no means a mere insipid chronicler, and endeavoured, so far as in him lay, to represent, not only the political, but also the civil and social phases of the Arabs of Spain. No doubt he has been one of the most diligent and circumspect of compilers, and his voluminous and many-sided work is a genuine mine, affording most interesting notices on a variety of subjects; but still he remains no more than a compiler. He is a stranger to anything approaching to a critical examination, extending over his whole production, and to independent research.

Hence it is, that compilation is the appropriate characteristic of Arab historical literature down to the latest times, and the remark is especially applicable to its beginnings. At a relatively early period, and shortly before the advent of Islam, they had a certain ground-floor, so to say, of synchronous history, naturally of the most rudimentary character, the collections of maxims and brief narratives of distinguished contemporaries,—to preserve which was the most anxious care of the Arabs. For the lifetime of the prophet we have such collections of traditions as the *Al-Muvatta* of Malik† and the two

* The most celebrated historian of Spain was Ahmed-al-Makkari, born about 1591. He studied in Fez and Morocco. After making his pilgrimage, he settled down, as a married man in Jerusalem, but he again visited from thence, five times in seven years, Mecca and Medina. The following years were spent in Jerusalem, Damascus and Cairo, our author holding public discourses on Muslim tradition. As he was about to settle in Damascus he suddenly died in 1630. His principal work, a History of Spain, he composed in a year at the instance of the learned in Damascus. This great work falls into two divisions almost equal, the first with its numerous literary appendices, treating of the Political History of Spain, the second being devoted to the chequered life of the Vazir Lisanuddin.

His great history of the Muhammedan dynasties in Spain, called the *Nafhutib* was rendered into English by Gayangos.

† In opposition to the school of Irak, headed by Abu Hanifa, the most rigid adherence to tradition was taught by Malik ibn Anas (born 703, died 795) in his chief work the *Muvatta*. He was at first a decided follower of the Abides, but recovered himself to the reigning house of the Abbasides. His *Muriatta* contains about 1,700 traditions, carefully culled and arranged in order of their contents.

Sahih of Bukhari and Muslim,* and for the opening period of the Islamic hegemony the huge history of Tabari† who died in 922 in Baghdad. The production of Tabari belongs to that class of compilations which present a medley of traditions, often at variance with each other, and occasionally cite the authorities. Subsequent writers on history, Ibn-al-Athir‡ (1230 A.D.) for instance, drew upon this compilation, selecting traditions of intrinsic probability, though retaining in most cases the text of the sources employed. With greater freedom and with deeper critical insight, worked Ibn-Khaldun§ (405 A.D.) who subjected the materials he used to a further reduction advancing his own views and interweaving more or less facts at first hand into the texture of his history, which is a work of art. Indeed he decidedly stands out as a real philosophical historian, who investigates the motives which inspired the prominent personalities depicted in his narrative. This superior genuinely philosophical element of his research, is more in evidence in the prolegomena to his history than in the body of the work itself.

Now let us return to the proper subject of our inquiry. The accounts of the alleged burning of the Alexandria Library by Amr, at the instance of Omar, are conspicuous by their absence in the older sources, and this in itself evokes great suspicion. So far as I know, it appears first in Abdul-Latif, a writer of the twelfth century, posterior by 500 years to the event which he relates. From this time onwards it is frequently reiterated by Arab authors and is most elaborately reproduced with amplifications, as we noted above, by Abul-Faraj with minute and circumstantial details. The

* For the history of Moslem religious tradition reference can be made to no better authority than Goldziher, *Über die Entwicklung des Hadith*. Bukhari was of Iranian extraction.

Professor P. Horn in his *Geschichte der Persischen Literatur* (p. 46) is astonished to find the number of the most prominent Arab literati who were of Iranian origin;—to name only a few, the grammarians Ibrāhīm and Kisai the exegetes Zamakhshari, and Fakhawī, the historians Tabarī Ibn Kutaiba, Dinawari, Hamza, Beladhari, Al Biruni, the philosophers and physicians Rāzī, Ibn Sina better known as Avicenna and Ghazzālī and the astronomer Omar Khayyām (the world-renowned poet) and Nasiruddin of Tus.

† The best-known work of this most prolific polyhistor is his chronicle, *Nüsdü'sse* has rendered accessible to European scholars the section of his history bearing on the Persians and Arabs under the Sassanides. He was born at Amul in Tabaristan in 838.

‡ Much of Justice Amir Ali's History of the Saracens is based on this original source. Besides his history, which supplements, and in a manner methodizes, Tabari, Ibn Athir wrote a history of the Atabeks and a large biographical collection dealing with 7,500 contemporaries of the prophet.

§ Ibn Khaldun's *Prolegomenes*, translated into French by de Slane deserves a still wider recognition. The historico-philosophical writer Ibn Khaldun is an altogether solitary phenomenon (in the historical literature of the Arabs), without a predecessor and successor. Brockelmann's *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur* ii, 4.

notice by Abdul-al-Latif is very brief (see de Sacy's translation p. 183)—he speaks of the ruins which he beheld in Alexandria and which he describes in a few words. The words which refer to the suppositious burning of the library run as follows: "I believe that this building of the Portico is where Aristotle, and after him his disciples, received instructions, and that this was the academy which Alexander erected, when he founded the city, and in which was located the library which Amr-ibn-al-Asi burnt down at the command of Omar."

The account is casual and devoid of authority. It has rather the flavour of an universally spread canard, than of an authentic occurrence. It partakes of the nature of a rumour which is repeated a thousand times by tourists, and it has about the same value, and the same validity, as attach to the stories circulated by credulous and unthinking mediæval travellers about the situation of Jerusalem.

Abdul-al-Latif is no genuine historian, rather is he a writer on travels, and we need not lay too much stress upon definite occurrences which he inserts in his work on Egypt. Moreover, it abounds in palpable inaccuracies, for needless to say Aristotle was never in Alexandria and the Museum was founded not by Alexander but by Ptolemy I.

Of much greater importance and of still wider significance is the report of Abul-Faraj. Judging from the view point of the East he is without doubt a historical writer of the first rank. He is decidedly one of the most prominent Syrian men of learning, distinguished by his extensive erudition and his ingenuity and conscientiousness, in the choice and use of his materials. He wrote on philosophy, exegesis, liturgy, jurisprudence and grammar, not as a dilettante scribbler but as a competent and profound scholar.

Let us recall for a moment the circumstances under which lived Georgius Bar-Hebraeus or Abul-Faraj and the times in which he wrote.

Georgius Bar-Ebraya, our Bar-Hebraeus was the son of Aaron, a physician, formerly a Jew, and was born at Melitene in the year 1226. He had the advantage, in his youth of a liberal education in the Greek, Syriac and Arabic languages, as well as in the history of Christian dogma. He also studied medicine. His father before him had been baptised, so that from his earliest infancy he was brought up in Christianity. He supplemented his studies by distant travels. Already as a young man he seems to have been greatly respected by the people of his country, being in his twenty-first year nominated Bishop of Juba in Melitene, and consecrated by the Patriarch. Shortly after this he came to Halep as Bishop,

and thence to the Monastery of St. Matthacus in the vicinity of Mosul, where he filled the office of a Matran of the Orient. This rank of a Matran was next to the office of the Patriarch, and consequently the second place of honor in the Jacobite Church. The diocese committed to his charge comprised a great portion of Mesopotamia. The office was one of the most influential temporal dignity in the whole East, though at the same time, owing to various conflicts and disputes, in which the Christians were embroiled with the Mongols, then swarming over further Asia under Halagu, one of the most difficult for Bar-Hebraeus, he having frequently to represent the Christians before Halagu. He fought without respite or intermission for the independence of his co-religionists, and it was due to his great practical experience and astuteness that his exertions were mostly crowned with success. It is reported that his competence in the art of medicine contributed not a little to his becoming a favorite with Halagu, who placed great reliance in him and granted him willingly a charter for the exercise of the Christian religion. It was, however, more than anything his awe-inspiring and dignified personal attitude, and the deep and earnest moral rectitude of his whole being, which commanded the Mongol's respect, and practically conduced to raise the status of the Christian residents of the Mongol Empire to one of actual respect. That, however, Bar-Hebraeus despite the eminent motives which distinguished him from his contemporaries, was but a child of the age, and was sunk in the superstition of his times, is shewn by the circumstances under which we are told he died. It is related that he was a keen astrologer. His birth, his consecration as Bishop and as the Matran had all occurred at the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter. And therefrom he was firmly convinced that his death would take place when the same planets came round together, attributing to them a decisive influence on his fate. Shortly before the re-appearance of the abovesaid planetary position, he was overtaken by a violent fever and refused all medical help, because, forsooth, the stars had announced his dissolution, and thus he died, as he had predicted, in the year 1288.

As the principal historical work of Gregorius Bar-Hebraeus whose Arabic name was Abul-Feraj, one must regard the chronicle written in Syriac. It is based on an industrious and, partly, critical employment of a considerable number of Syriac, Arabic, Persian and Greek sources, of which many quoted from by him, seem to have perished. From this larger work, embracing secular and church history, Gregorius Bar-Hebraeus drew up, we are told, in the last days of his life a brief compendium in Arabic. This compendium is the *Historia dynasti-*

arum of Abul-Faragius edited by Edward Pocock in 1663. But the book, so far as its text before us goes, is no mere extract, containing as it does many excellent notices of a historical and literary character, which are not found in the Syriac original. On account of the insufficiency of manuscripts, it is difficult to determine whether these are interpolations by later transcribers, or whether they are really by the author of the compendium. But there is nothing in the larger Syriac chronicle corresponding to the notice of the burning of the Alexandrian Library, as supplied, by the Arabic synopsis.

Touching the omission of this allusion, in the Syriac chronicle it has been advanced that Gregorius Bar-Hebraeus wrote the Arabic conspectus, having specially in view the library requirements of the Arabs, and so had added this story in the latter book, it being of particular interest to the Arabs. All the same the omission is extremely surprising. But more striking still is the circumstance that the alleged occurrence is equally absent in the annals of Eutychius* and of Al-Makin.† Eutychius was patriarch of Alexandria. He died in office in the year 940—in the tenth century—and gave us a minute narrative of the fall of Alexandria. He uses the best sources available to him, which were, we presume, abundant and copious, he having taken down the events on the spot where they occurred. Besides he was a man of education and culture: to whom the wreck of a library, which if one had really existed at the time of the conquest of Alexandria, and which would have unquestionably contained many Christian writings of value, must have been a sad and deplorable episode. He need not have dreaded narrating the demolition by the Arabs of precious store-houses of books. Three hundred years later, Al-Makin, likewise a Christian, wrote also in this matter. He too furnishes us a succinct account of the capitulation of Alexandria, minutely detailed, but does not mention a word about the destruction of the library by Amr. These are part anterior, part posterior authors who stood nearer the theatre of events than Abul-Faraj who, wrote in Mesopotamia, and in all probability drew upon Byzantine sources which for the history of Islam are so extraordinarily turbid and tainted. The Byzantine writers set their faces against Islam, imputing to it all possible perniciousness. They believed it was to their interest to represent the professors of Islam, who were their opponents as barbarous as they could; so that it requires no wild conjecturing to assume, that the whole story has proceeded from Byzantium, unless it be a mistaken transference, of a

* Eutychius was Patriarch of Alexandria about 929, according to Brockelmann.

† His history was translated into English by S. Purchas in 1626.

report of an entirely different episode, to the annexation of Alexandria. For it is asserted, though by later authorities, that an enormous quantity of Persian books was found when Saad-ibn-Wakkas, the Commander of the Khalif Omar, overthrew the Persian Empire ; that Saad was at a loss what to do with them, and that, having consulted Omar he was asked to consign them to the flames or waves.

But if we look more closely into Abul-Faraj's story we are at once struck with its hyperbolic tenour. Four thousand bath-tubs were heated with this fuel of books, for full six months. This is quite a worthy parallel to the extravagant relation of Kutb-ud-din, anent the destruction of the Baghdad Library by Halaku. The tyrant having issued orders directing the books to be cast into the Tigris, the innumerable volumes composed a bridge over which horsemen and foot passengers could pass ; and the ink washed off them turned the water dark ! (*Notices et Extraits* IV, 569.)

If now the fable of Abul-Faraj is highly improbable in its extravagance, its minor details contradict the information we have preserved to us, in part, in the letter which Amr wrote to the Khalif Omar at the conquest of Alexandria. He says in it " I have captured the city. I cannot describe its treasures, and must rest content with informing you that I have found in it four thousand palaces, four thousand baths, fourteen thousand Jews subject to taxation, four hundred royal stages and twelve thousand gardens producing vegetables." It goes on to inform the Khalif that the Arabs are desirous of plundering the riches and Amr therefore requests to learn his pleasure on the subject. In his reply Omar decidedly disapproved of the intended spoliation. And this can scarcely be reconciled with the alleged order to set fire to the library. In his report, Amr enumerates various rich, rare and costly things which he discovered in Alexandria ; and he, whom Abul-Faraj depicts as a particular patron and cherisher of literature and arts, we are asked to believe, passed over in silence the colossal collection of books. This is hardly conceivable.

Some may assume that Amr possibly wrote a separate letter to his liegeland discussing the fate of the library. But we need not forget, that Amr's sojourn in Alexandria was but a brief one, too short in fact for him to receive, on the spot, an answer to a second communication.

The question is, was the library still in existence at the time the Arabs possessed themselves of Alexandria ?

The problem has been raised by Gibbon,* who expresses himself unequivocally against the probability of the legend

* *Decline and Fall* iv, 567.

transmitted to us by Abul-Faraj. Let us rapidly survey the history of the library from its foundation onwards.

It was, as is known, founded by Ptolemaeus I, who gathered round himself, in his new residence at Alexandria, a circle of the learned, and made Alexandria one of the most flourishing republics of learning, yet only the beginning of the library coincided with his reign. It was not before the reign of his son Ptolemaeus II, or the commencement of the third century B. C. that it was enlarged and increased, along with the whole Museum. At this time, the latter attained its world-wide renown. It became the abode of the most celebrated scholars, whose fame drew disciples from all quarters of the, then, civilized globe. The institution, in course of time, grew into one of the grandest academies of antiquity, in which all branches of knowledge were taught by authorities of the highest repute. Later ages could, indeed, boast of other and similarly vast academies, like the great schools of Nisibis and Edessa which, for a considerable period, were the centres of Græco-Syriac culture, but none could approach that of Alexandria in respect of the grandeur of its institutions, the amount of its donations, the renown of its professors, and the power of its influence.

Besides the library attached to the Museum there were a number of book-collections, for instance in the temple of Serapis, the *scrapium*, which, according to the undoubted testimony of Tertullian still existed in the third century after Christ, then a library in the Sebastium and other smaller ones. It is not impossible that the number seven hundred thousand refers to the volumes preserved in the various libraries of Alexandria.

But the most flourishing times of the library of the Alexandrian Museum, could not have endured longer than a hundred years, since, already, in the latter half of the second pre-Christian century, under the reign of the cruel Euergetes II (14-117 B. C.) artists and men of learning were banished from Alexandria, this contributed greatly to the ruin of the Museum.

Euergetes II appears, however, to have atoned for the misdeeds inaugurated in the opening year of his rule, inasmuch as he afterwards devoted himself to science, and essayed to be an author, composing a work on zoology, emendating the text of the Homeric poems, and endeavouring to secure new *litterati* for the Museum. But those invited grew suspicious and did not respond to the call. Aristarch the great critic and the teacher of Euergetes was, and remained the last celebrated scholar to work in Alexandria. The information about the academy and library continue from this time on to be more and more exiguous till it is finally extinct. In the space of time,

intervening between Euergetes II and Julius Cæsar, or a full hundred years, we learn nothing whatever concerning the condition of the Museum. All the more important therefore is what we hear of it in Cæsar's time, and which is to the effect that in 47 B. C the Museum was burnt down by fire, and by far the greatest part of the treasure, in books accumulated there was destroyed in flames. Some twenty years later 24 B. C. Strabo visited Alexandria. He describes the beauty of the city at length and yet he has not a word to say about the library. It is possible that at the time the enormous gaps were not refilled. This seems to have taken place subsequently, for Sueton relates, in so many words, in the biography of Diocletian that the latter had the *lacunæ* in the Italian libraries supplied by transcripts from the Alexandrian library. During the time of the Roman Cæsars the dates of the prosperity and the demolition vary from each other, with surprising discord. Under Alexander Severus the academy once more prospered, after the city of Alexandria had recovered itself from the scenes of carnage under Caracalla, and from a short notice in Suidas we perceive that the Museum was in actual existence about the year 390. And this is, properly speaking, the last positive notice we possess of the existence of the Museum. But the fate of the Serapium and the library belonging to it, is from this date onward, shrouded in impenetrable obscurity. We know that the temple of Serapis with which it was connected was converted into a Christian Church in 389 A. D. under Theodosius the Great. Whether, after this time the library still continued in Alexandria, or was destroyed or removed to Constantinople, this is altogether uncertain.

The last supposition, however, has the greatest weight of probability. The enormous collection of books which Theodosius II, in the beginning of the fifth century deposited in Constantinople must have been composed, for the most part, of volumes from the libraries of Egypt and Asia Minor.

Surveying the whole material, at our command, with which to construct a history of the Alexandrian library, we are compelled to hold it to be most likely, that in the age the Arabs subjugated Egypt, there was nothing, or at most an extremely meagre remnant of this most celebrated collection of books in Egypt, so renowned in antiquity, and which so powerfully affected the continuance of culture. The centripetal force, which under certain circumstances operates so disastrously, which in larger cities so easily asserts its overpowering influence, and which is calculated to accelerate the mental decease of a people, was only too dominant in the Byzantine empire. And it is no wild fancy to conjecture, that the distant Egypt was likewise laid under contribution for the

glorifying and adorning the capital city. For the greatest part it was the lack of profound and earnest up-bringing or culture in the remote provinces of the empire, which rendered possible to the Arabs and Islam the astoundingly intrepid and stormlike career of triumphs, which indeed evokes the wonder of all who closely consider the history of the beginnings of Islam and its conquests. Indubitably the adherents of the prophet, in their blind zealotry, remorselessly annihilated many of the priceless relics of antiquity, but I believe they must be positively acquitted of the reproach that the Alexandrian library also fell a victim to their fanaticism.

Rangoon.

G. K. NARIMAN.

ART. IX.—LANGUAGES OF SOUTHERN INDIA.

IN the elaborate and highly-interesting Report of Mr. W. Francis, I.C.S., on the Census of the Madras Presidency is, embodied a very readable and suggestive chapter on the languages of that portion of the Peninsula. The present article merely proposes to pass in review the facts and figures collected by Mr. Francis and to offer a few observations on the more salient points as they occur. It is a well-known fact that the Madras Presidency is, as regards languages, almost exclusively homogeneous and Dravidian; and the most noticeable point in the report before us is the high proportion which the population speaking the Dravidian tongues bears to the total population of the Presidency. The languages of the East Indies, according to their presumed ethnological affinity, have been divided by ethnologists into eight families, the three principal of which are the Aryan, Dravidian and Kolarian. Some of the early Sanskrit writers called the languages of Southern India by the generic term of the *Andhradravida-bhasha* or the language of the Andhras and Dravidas—Telugus and Tamils. Manu still more generally styled them all Dravidas. In any case, morphologically considered there are well recognised differences between the Dravidian languages of the South and the Aryan or quasi-Aryan languages of Northern India. The latter, for instance, recognise three grammatical genders—masculine, feminine and neuter. On the other hand, the Dravidian languages, which are classed with Chinese, Japanese, Finnish and Turkish, do not recognise grammatical gender. At the same time, available evidence points to the fact that the Dravidian languages are very much older in point of time than the Aryan family.

The Aryan languages are, however, by no means inconsiderably represented in Southern India. Of those that occur the most important are Oriya (with its dialect Paroj*), Hindustání, Maráthí (with its dialect Kónkani) Gujarati (with its dialect Patnúli), and the Gipsy language, Lambadi. Except Oriya and Kónkani, all of these are the vernaculars of foreigners who have entered the Presidency either as invaders or traders, and it is illustrative of the tenacity and vitality of the indigenous languages that these imported tongues have, especially in respect of Tamil, succeeded but indifferently in replacing the former or in spreading themselves beyond the limits of tribes and castes which brought them over. While the Dravidian languages are spoken by 91·26 per cent. of the population of

the Presidency, the total figures for Aryan, Munda and "others," all told, is only 8·74.

The Universities' Commission recommends the abolition of the vernaculars in the University curriculum, and very naturally this recommendation has raised a howl of protest on the part of the educated patriots of the South, who may be pardoned for the apprehension that the recommendation, if carried out, would be the death-knell of all the Dravidian languages, the cultured study of which, even under the circumstances that obtain, cannot be said to be very enthusiastically carried out. It is difficult to see what is to be gained by abolishing Tamil, for instance, as a vernacular in the South and encouraging instead the study of Sanskrit. As Mr. Francis points out, Sanskrit has, after a struggle of 1000 years and in spite of the sacerdotal backing which it received, ceased to exist at all as a vernacular and is only spoken here and there by scattered pundits. On the other hand, Tamil is a most cultivated and polished language, with a grammar and prosody peculiar to itself, with a wealthy vocabulary and a vast original literature of its own. It is possessed of a vitality that is only increased by age. Spoken in every District in the Presidency, but most in the districts South of Madras, it is the home speech of 40 per cent. of the population, representing nearly 16 millions of souls. It is used in the north of Ceylon, and emigrants have carried it to Rangoon and the Straits Settlements. Of the literate population of the Presidency 55 per cent., or nearly 5 millions, are literate in this language, while among Tamilians themselves, as many as $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions are literate in their own tongue. It is not correct to say, as indiscriminate admirers of Sanskrit are in the habit of saying, that Tamil owes very much to Sanskrit. The well-known poem of *Kuraal*, with its 1,330 couplets, has no more than 100 Sanskrit derivations. The antiquity of Tamil as a classic language with a literature worthy of respect may well be gauged from the fact that, according to no less an authority than Dr. Caldwell, the date of the composition of the *Kuraal* is to be sought in a period previous to the ninth century. This classic has called forth the unstinted admiration of natives and foreigners alike. The Tamil people themselves call it the third Veda while great and learned Europeans, such as Pope and Ellis, Beschi, the Jesuit, M. Ariel, the Frenchman, and Dr. Graul, the German, have rendered valuable service by publishing partial or complete translations of it in European languages. It is a great poem on ethical subjects, and, as the Rev. Lazarus says, "There are depths of thought and heights of moral excellence which can only be perceived by those endowed with a sense for the true and the beautiful in life." Nor is the *Kuraal* the only classic in the

language in which it was produced, for the Tamil world has brought forth many great poets and philosophers, the works of some of whom are well fitted to rank with the best things to be found in the copious and undeniably valuable literature of Sanskrit. Moreover, Tamil is still very much alive at the present day and much standard and periodical literature of considerably more than ephemeral value is being produced in it, to the lasting benefit of the millions whose native language it is. Among the earliest of Tamil works of which we find mention may be named the *Talkapivam*, the oldest extant Tamil grammar assigned by Dr. Burnell to the eighth century, and the *Varasoliyam*, another grammar of the eleventh century. Both these works have been superseded by the *Nannul*, of the fifteenth century, a work which has had numerous commentators and still continues to be the leading native authority. Among other works may be mentioned the *Naladivār*, an ethical poem, on the three objects of existence, believed to be much older than the *Kuraal*. There is also the *Chintamani*, an epic of upwards of 3,000 stanzas, celebrating the exploits of a King named Jivakan. Like the *Kuraal*, this poem belongs to the early Jain period, which has been appropriately termed the Augustan age of Tamil literature. Tamil literature, like our own literature, has not been without its barren and torpid periods, but it may safely be said that with the introduction of printing and the influence of Western thought and Western ideals, there is a long and glorious future before this great Dravidian language. This is not the place to enter into any minute disquisition regarding the origin of the Tamil language, but it may be mentioned on good authority that the character in which Tamil is now written was derived originally from the Southern Asoca alphabet, and not in any way from the Sanskrit Devanagiri. It may also be of interest to mention that the old Dravidian letter represents a special sound in the Dravidian dialects, now retained only in Tamil and Malayalam. It is a mixture of *j*, *l*, and *r*, and most confusing have been the various attempts made at different times by European translators to represent it in a Roman dress.

Next in importance to the Tamil language comes Telugu which is also spoken in every district, and which has been carried into the Tamil country by agricultural castes like the Kammas and Kapus, now of the Madura and Tinnevely districts, who, from all evidences, followed the Vijayanagar army South and settled in these districts when the Nayak Governors were established there. Soldiers like the Tattiens, traders like the Komatis and Balijas (the latter being evidently offshoots of the Kammas or the Kapus, though they themselves

claim Kshatriya descent), artisans like the Oddes (tank diggers and earth workers, who are now to be found scattered all over the Presidency as well as in other parts of India), Sales (descendants, according to their own tradition, of 101 sons of the daughter of the Sun) and Janappans (originally manufacturers of gunny bags of hemp fibre in Telugu land)—all these who went South to ply their trades carried the Telugu language with them and helped to spread it over a large portion of the face of the Tamil country. The real home of Telugu, however, is in the districts North of Madras, excepting the west of Bellary and Anantpur (where Canarese is spoken), the three Agencies and the Northern half of Ganjam. It is spoken by some 37 per cent. of the population in the Presidency, or in other words by about 15½ million souls, but it compares unfavourably with Tamil in the respect that only 24 per cent. of the literate, or about 1,171,000, can read and write it. Telugu is indeed a very elegant language, and with little exaggeration what Byron said of Italian may be said of this sweet-sounding Dravidian tongue, that "it sounds as if it should be writ on Latin, with syllables that breathe of the sweet South." Modern Telugu is by no means the pure unadulterated language that once it was. It is the language of the South which has succumbed most perhaps to Aryan influences. In his Telugu Dictionary, entitled the *Andhra Deepica*, the Telugu Brahmin lexicographer, Maumadi Venkayya (a merchant who flourished at Musalipatam in the early years of the last century), describes pure Telugu words in the following eloquent terms:—"All those words which are in use among the several races aboriginal of the country of Andhra, which are perfectly clear and free from all absurdity, these shine forth to the world as the pure Native speech of Andhra." The same author gives instances of corruptions which have crept into his language, as well as of words derived direct from the Sanskrit. That these importations are admitted to have enriched the Telugu language are to be seen from Venkayya's following reference to them:—"Tatsama words consist of Sanskrit terms pure as spoken in Heaven, the Telugu terminations alone being substituted for those of the original language." Then there are Tadbhava words derived either from the Sanskrit, or from Hindustani or other foreign languages that have exercised an influence upon Telugu. As a matter of fact, the use of Sanskrit is the chief feature of the Telugu vocabulary, and so great an influence has the Aryan language exercised upon the Dravidian speech that it is a well-known fact that the pronunciation of Sanskrit among the Telugus corresponds with the purest pronunciation used at Benares—a lesser case, if I may so

put it, of "the Tuscan tongue in a Roman mouth" (*La lingua Toscanen bica Romana*). Philologically, Telugu is a very poor language in everything except outward appearances. It is the weakest of the various Dravidian tongues. Of all the main Dravidian languages, Malayalam is the most local in its distribution. It is the Native tongue of 2,850,000 persons, and of these only about 210,000 live outside Malabar. Why the language has so far remained so local in its distribution is easily explained by the fact that until lately the barrier of the Western Ghâts shut off the District from free communication with the East Coast with the result that its people have developed religious and social customs markedly distinct from those of the rest of the Presidency. With the advent of the railway not only to Malabar, but to the neighbouring Native States of Travancore and Cochin, it may be expected that this singular Dravidian language will find its way outside its native home. Even at present, there are little Colonies of Malayalis in Madras, Bombay, Burma and Ceylon, and they have carried their language and their peculiar customs with them to these places of exile. Malayalam is the native speech of a great many castes and tribes following customs that are strikingly divergent. The Nambudri Brahmins, whose original language was Sanskrit, and who still use Sanskrit as their sacerdotal and Court language, are now practically a Malayalam-speaking race. The East Coast Brahmins, who have long settled down in Malayalam, speak Malayalam in a fashion peculiar to themselves. The Moplahs have their own dialect, which they have enriched by the importation of Arabic words. The Nairs speak the purest form of the language, the Tiyyas may be said to come next, while quaint argots are in use among such servile and low caste tribes as the Pariahs, the Vettuvans, the Izhuvans, the Panniyans and others. It is generally agreed now-a-days that Malayalam is peculiarly related to Tamil, of which it is an ancient off-shoot, but much altered. The ancient Cochin and Travancore inscriptions appear to prove the substantial identity of old Malayalam with old Tamil. The oldest Malayalam work is a poem entitled the *Ramacharitam*, which was composed before the introduction of the Sanskrit alphabet. A school of young men has now arisen who seek to prove that Malayalam is not derived from Tamil, and that the people who brought the language with them into "Kerala" did not come from the East and had nothing to do with Tamil or Telugu. These are interesting points, which it may be left to erudite philologists to thresh out. Suffice it to say here that Malayalam, whatever its origin, is to-day a language with a rich vocabulary, largely indebted to Sanskrit, and yet noticeably deficient

in scientific terminology. It boasts a copious literature. Some of the finest poetry that Southern India has produced has been the work of bards who have sung in the Malayalam tongue. Good work is now being done to embellish and improve the language by Native newspapers and Magazines and by literary societies. Fiction also, as we understand it in English, is engaging the attention of scholars, and what great promise there is in this particular field is evidenced by the first real Malayalam novel—*Indulekha*—written and published eleven years ago by the late Mr. O. Chandu Menon and exhaustively reviewed in a recent number of the *Calcutta Review*.

Next in order among the vernaculars of Southern India may be mentioned Canarese, which, according to Mr. Francis, is mainly found in the Western Taluk of Bellary, adjoining Mysore, in the corresponding portion of the Anantapur district, in the Kollegal Taluk of Coimbatore, in the adjacent areas in Salem and the Nilgiris, in the northern taluks of South Canara and to a greater or less extent, in every district in the Presidency, except the Vizagapatam Agency. The number of people who speak it is 1,530,688 or 396 for every 10,000 of the population. As a literary language, it runs Malayalam close, for during the last decade 349 books were published in it against 372 in Malayalam, though these figures are nowhere near those for the greater Dravidian languages of Tamil and Telugu (2,366 and 2,393 respectively). The manner in which Canarese is diffused over the Presidency presents certain peculiar features. Thus, it is the official language of South Canara, although the language most commonly spoken there is Tulu. In one Taluk of Salem, 33 per cent. of the people speak it, but elsewhere in that district Tamil prevails. Again, while Tamil is mainly used all over Coimbatore, Canarese is spoken by 78 per cent. of the people in the one Taluk of Kollegal. In South Canara, it is in the Coondapoor Taluk that Canarese is most largely used. The Canarese character is in all essentials identical with that of the Telugu, but there is an archaic character for Sanskrit inscriptions found over a large area. The missionaries are doing valuable work in the way of enriching the literature of this tongue. An off-shoot or a dialect of Canarese is the Badaga speech. This is a very ancient language and was carried into their present home—the Nilgiris—by the Badagas who migrated from the plains. Many Badaga songs have been very successfully rendered into English, and the tribe itself has been the object of close and sympathetic study on the part of European ethnologists. The Badaga dialect is spoken by 34,229 persons, representing nine in every 10,000 of the population. Tulu is another

language practically spoken only in South Canara, the number returning it as their speech being 495,717 or 128 in every 10,000 of the total population. It is an interesting language, one that may be described as cultivated, and at the same time destitute of any literature. It possesses no special character, but employs the Canarese. Tulu Brahmins use the Malayalam character when writing Sanskrit. Tulu differs more widely from Malayalam than Malayalam does from Tamil. The language has never made any headway whatever beyond its ancient boundaries, which are the Chundrageri and the Kaliyanpur rivers south and north of the modern district of South Canara.

Other South Indian vernaculars may be very briefly disposed of, as they are, comparatively speaking, of little importance except to the philologist, the palæologist and the antiquarian. We have the Toda, peculiar to that buffalo-sacrificing tribe on the Nilgiris. It is returned as the home speech of no more than 805, and there is hardly a doubt that it will soon rank among extinct tongues, for the Todas are taking in increasing numbers to Tamil. Toda, like Badaga, is a dialect of old Canarese. It has no written character, and it has dwindled down to a mere skeleton; from having once been highly inflectional, it has lost most of its inflections. The cause of this is without doubt that the people, as the result of isolation, have not cared or found it necessary to replace the inflections by significant particles or auxiliaries to the same extent as the other South Indian tribes. Kurumba is another dialect of Canarese spoken on the slopes of the Nilgiris and of the adjoining Malabar hills by the Kurumbans, whose *confères* in the plains usually speak Canarese itself. Only 5,044 persons are returned as speaking this dialect, which, like Todah, is destined, sooner or later to banish before the approach of a sturdier speech. Already, in fact, have the Kurumbans lost all traces of their ancient civilisation and all recollection of their origin and history. A rude dialect of Tamil spoken by some few of the members of the Irula caste—and called by the name of the caste—who live on the slopes of the Nilgiris and the neighbouring Coimbatore hills, is yet another peculiarly interesting southern vernacular. Only 932 persons have returned this language as their parent tongue, although the Irulas total 85,000 members. The explanation is to be found in the fact that the Irulas who live in the plains are Tamil-speaking. Even more quaint, interesting and historical is Mahl, the language of the Island of Minicoy, off the Malabar Coast. It is very noteworthy that only 72 persons return this speech, and it is still more noteworthy that of the 72, no more

than eight were women. Either the enumeration was not accurate, or the Mahl language is now at its last gasp. It is a corruption of Malayalam, and the old written character, wherever it is found, is the *Vattezhoot*, in which old Malayalam was written. But it is now being gradually replaced by Arabic.

Above we have dealt with most of the more important of the 29 languages which have their home, in some few cases only their adopted home, in the Madras Presidency. Of those that we have treated of, only Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Canarese have a character and a literature of their own and possess vitality sufficient to enable them to withstand successfully the various influences now at work in the country. None of the languages without written characters, save Tulu, are taught in the schools, and with the spread of education and the opening of institutions intended specially for the aborigines and hill tribes, it may be expected that the death-knell of many a rude and primitive dialect, in which the jungle woman croons her babe to sleep and the jungleman orders the tiger off the road will soon be heard ringing mournfully. It is indeed sorrowful to contemplate that such things are among the inevitable results of the onward march of civilisation. Some of the unwritten dialects and languages of the South may, however, survive for yet some length of time, but this is only because they are written in the characters that belong to their more polished and robust sisters. Tulu and Konkani, for instance, are written in Canarese letters, the former in Roman letters also, and it has an excellent dictionary compiled by the late Rev. Fre Maffei, S.J., whose interest in Konkani was as deep and intelligent as that of Beschi in Tamil or Ainauld in Malayalam.

“CASUAL.”

ART. X.—INDIAN ART.

WE have nothing but unmixed praise for Lord Curzon for the zeal with which he has, since coming to India, advocated the cause of the preservation of the ancient and indigenous arts of India. And we congratulate him on the idea of the Delhi Art Exhibition which, thanks to the energy of Dr Watt, has been a signal success. In India national degeneration has gone so far as to make it impossible for any but those who speak with the authority of high office to command a respectful hearing from the aristocracy and plutocracy whose vitiated taste has hastened the decay of Indian art. Let us hope the words of the highest official in the land will open the eyes of the Indian aristocracy to a fact—to which numerous attempts have already been made to draw their attention; and that by men who—if they hold some less exalted office—are better fitted by education and acquirements to speak authoritatively on the subject.

“I am one of those,” said the Viceroy, “who believe that no national art is capable of continued existence unless it satisfies and expresses the wants of the nation that has produced it. No art can be kept alive by globe-trotters or curio-hunters alone. If it has got to that point, it becomes a mere mechanical reproduction of certain fashionable patterns, and, when fashion changes and they cease to be popular, it dies. If Indian art, therefore, is to continue to flourish, or is to be revived, it can only be if the Indian chiefs and aristocracy and people of culture and high degree undertake to patronise it. So long as they prefer to fill their palaces with flaming Brussels carpets, with Tottenham Court Road furniture, with cheap Italian mosaics, with French oleographs with Austrian lustres, and with German tissues and cheap brocades; I fear there is not much hope. I speak in no terms of reproach, because I think that in England we are just as bad in our pursuit of anything that takes our fancy in foreign lands, but I do say that if Indian arts and handicrafts are to be kept alive, it can never be by outside patronage alone. It can only be because they find a market within the country and express the ideas and culture of its people. I should like to see a movement spring up among the Indian chiefs and nobility for the expurgation or, at any rate, the purification of modern tastes, and for a reversion to the old-fashioned, but exquisite styles and patterns of their country. Some day, I have not a doubt that it will come, but it may then be too late.”

This declaration is more than praiseworthy in the represent-

ative of a people whose merchants are princes, and with whom the interest of the merchant often outweigh all other considerations—the considerations of humanity and decency not excepted.

It is a well-tryed maxim that the energy of a people comes from below, but art must begin in the upper classes. Hence, if Indian art is to be revived or at least preserved from the decay which threatens it—it must find patrons in the cultured classes who can appreciate and pay for art. The “common herd” can seldom develop a refined taste where the taste of their superiors is vitiated. They are by education and inclination more capable to follow than to lead in matters of taste, and they can never be relied upon to think and discern what should be a people’s taste in art. They are habitually as unconscious of the change in art sentiment as a man is of his own growth in stature. Unless the cultured classes of the people of India develop a correct taste and an appreciative liking for the art of their own country there is little, if any, hope for Indian art.

A strong individuality is laudable rather than deplorable in an individual. It is so in a nation. And in the case of art a definite and characteristic style is essential to preserve it from the corrosive wear and tear of change in fashion. The Damascus temper of steel was something original; and a blade of Damascus temper would cut right through an English sword. In the Middle Ages the manufactures of the Mussulman peoples of Persia, Egypt and Syria had a definite and characteristic style of their own. And the result was that they were in great demand in the West. Such later on was the case with the porcelain, metal and other products of China. They were of a unique character. Even in our own days the art products of Japan are in great favour. They adorn the drawing rooms, they beautify, or are believed to beautify, the house. And the reason is that in each case there has been “a well-marked difference of style between the production of these countries and the rest of the world; and in each case the style has been a slowly elaborated product of national art.”

That Indian art products had distinctive features is admitted by all lovers of art and art students. Then how is it that Indian art has lost its definite and characteristic style; and losing its distinctive character is fast degenerating into mere imitation?

To explain the present situation we quote below the words of an Englishman competent to speak on the subject.—

“No one who knows India well can fail to see how the taste of the native aristocracy and plutocracy has been utterly vitiated; how indigenous Architecture has become almost extinct; how the art handicrafts of the country are only exploited for

the sake of gain by the Philistine dealer, whose standard of taste is regulated by the demands of tourists and curiosity-hunters. Indian art has fallen into such disrepute among the natives themselves that everything which does not come straight from Europe is looked upon as something inferior. The native nobility affect a taste for the Brummagen Art we have introduced into the country, and a sentimental passion for spurious Old Masters supplied to them at fancy prices by unscrupulous agents and picture dealers.* What remains to-day of the real, living Art of India must be looked for in out-of-the-way places, and is regarded by the natives as old-fashioned and behind the times. Even the curiosity dealer finds his business not what it used to be. The not too discriminating taste of the globe-trotter is getting rather nauseated with the common place bric-a-brac which is palmed off upon him as Indian Art, and even the glamour of the gorgeous East hardly spreads a halo of romance over the crude and tasteless ornament manufactured for the European and American market. The painful fact must be admitted, that, whatever the cause may be, since our rule has been established, the old Art of India has been almost killed; the taste of the people, formerly led into safe paths by the splendid traditions of the Indian handicrafts man, has been changed and corrupted, while we have given nothing from our own national Art to compensate India for what has been lost.**

Before making the English solely responsible for this state of things, we must admit that Indian Art, or at least a portion of it, was in a state of decay at the time of the dissolution of the Moghul Empire. The fostering care with which a succession of Emperors from Akbar to Shajehan had watched and helped the development of Indian Art was wanting in Aurangzeb. And his iconoclastic zeal and bigotry often led him to destroy or disfigure some of the creations of former artists—the product of laborious days and sleepless nights. Then came a time of anarchy and strife; a time when caprices of cruelty and varieties of voluptuousness were the distinguishing features of a corrupt and servile court. Noble incentives to action were wanting. It was at this time that the English gained supremacy and founded an empire in India. It was a time when Indian Art neglected by weak, and in some cases iconoclastic rulers† and ruthlessly disturbed by Philistine Mahrattas was in a state of decay and in imminent danger. It was only natural to hope that with the advent of the English—the establishment of a

* *Art Education in India* by E. B. Havell of the Calcutta Art School

† There is a Mahomedan canon forbidding the representation of life. And it repressed the plastic instinct. "You may hear, when going over palaces in Rajputana, of elaborate carvings in stone which on a threatening hint from the iconoclastic court at Delhi, were hastily covered up with plaster."—J. Lockwood Kipling.

peace such as India had never known before, of law and order of a superior order—a new era of developing progress will dawn for Indian art. But it was here that were doomed to disappointment.

It is generally the case that in every period one art leads the rest and gives them their tone. "In the thirteenth century it was Architecture, all the other arts were her handmaidens. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Painting led. Even sculpture was then picturesque. * * * Sculpture in the first period is a mere architectural decoration. In the second period architecture becomes a frame for sculpture or painting."* Authorities differ—if architecture is the characteristic art of our own age. But all are agreed on one point, in all countries—at least in all civilised countries the history of Architecture is the history of art.

We have it on very high authority that Indian architecture is far from a dead art.† "That architecture in India is still a living art, with unlimited capabilities of healthy expansion, is an axiom that few competent and unprejudiced critics would hesitate to accept. It is true that the fact of this vitality is often confidently denied, as by a recent writer in the *Graphic*, who, 'after thirty years' experience of Indian life and character, declares that 'all the indigenous art we have now to admire in Hindustan is ancient art,—the art of people who lived hundreds and thousands of years ago.' Such superficial or unsympathetic observers would support their hasty conclusion by the undeniable hideousness of the vast majority of our modern buildings. But the error of their view can be easily exposed by pausing to consider who are really responsible for these architectural enormities."<‡

And it is here that the English must bear their share of blame. It began with the sturdy hard-headed merchants—the early settlers of the Old John Company. And it has been going on ever since in an unbroken tradition. With their characteristic insularity and the national prejudice of the Anglo-Saxon race that what is good for the Anglo-Saxon is good enough for the rest of the world, they disregarded their surroundings and in architecture imitated the models in their island home. It satisfied their love of prestige, and reminded them of their home beyond the seas. And this was most unfortunate; for "nothing more hopelessly irreconcilable with oriental ideas of Art could ever have been adopted than the cold, formal classicism then fashionable in England." At the time we are speaking of the national taste of England was almost hopelessly corrupt. But the little excuse the early

* Sir W. Martin Conway—*Domain of Art*.

† Fergusson—*Indian and Eastern Architecture*.

‡ F. B. Growse in the *Calcutta Review*, 1884.

settlers had is absent in the case of their followers. The centres of their ascendancy—Bombay, Madras and Calcutta—were not centres of Indian Art; nor were they conscious of the fact that they were founding an Empire in the East. This cannot be said of those who came after them. They came—members of a ruling race come to govern a conquered continent; and before them lay the monuments of Indian Art in which he that runs may read the capabilities of healthy development. But they followed in unbroken tradition the example set by their predecessors, and even made it worse. In the name of architecture they have perpetrated those horrors—which, to quote an English artist, “offend the eye and haunt the imagination in every station of India from Simla, Calcutta and Bombay to the smallest Mofussil town.” In this matter the Provincial Governments are the worst sinners. For if, in the case of the Supreme Government the excuse can be put forward that “neither in the swamps of Calcutta, nor on the heights of Simla has any indigenous form of architecture been available for adoption,” what excuse is there for the Provincial Governments situated as they are in the centres of Indian Art?

If individual perpetrators of these horrors may not be held responsible for them, no condemnation is too severe for the system which has moulded them. “Our engineers’ buildings,” says Mr. Growse, “have the one merit of simplicity. They make no pretence of pleasing the eye, but neither do they often wilfully offend it by an obtrusive display of misplaced architectural embellishments. Considered as temporary make-shifts for the deposit of departmental returns, or the casual shelter of distressed officials, they might pass uncriticized.” “But, unfortunately,” continues Mr. Growse, “the people of the country will not regard them from this purely utilitarian point of view. The Government is omnipotent, and if it chooses to lodge its servants at equal cost in sheds and godowns instead of in courts and palaces, it must be not from want of thought or skill, but because it deliberately prefers the shed and godown style of construction. The latter style is therefore, the style which loyal subjects are bound to adopt if they would be in harmony with their rulers.”*

This has been the case. In the words of the resolution which prefaces the Indian Art Journal,—“there can be no reasonable doubt that the upper classes of the native community would gladly follow the example of the Government, and cherish all that is best in Indian Art.” Unfortunately for the people in architecture—the mother of all arts—the example has never been set. And the consequence has been disastrous on a degenerated

* *The Calcutta Review*—1884.

people. When a native prince or a rich Indian builds himself a big house he invariably seeks out the English engineer trained in the traditions of the Indian Public Works Department. Hereditary art workmen are ignored,—their skill sharpened to perfection by constant practice never brought into requisition. A mass of brick or stone is piled up, and the result is a hideous structure which is extremely ugly as it is wholly out of place in India. Many will recall the remarks of Mark Twain. Speaking of Baroda he says,—with his characteristic humour sharpened by clear insight—“We were taken to see the new palace. * * * The new palace is mixed modern American-European and has not a merit except costliness. It is wholly foreign to India, and impudent and out of place. The architect has escaped. This comes of overdoing the suppression of the Thugs; they had their merits. The old palace is Oriental, and charming, and in consonance with the country. The old palace should still be great if there were nothing of it, but the spacious and lofty hall where the durbars are held.”*

To suit the building foreign articles of furniture, etc., are brought. The result must inevitably be the demand for Brussels carpets, Tottenham Court Road furnitures, cheap Italian mosaics, French oleographs, Austrian lustres, German tissues and cheap brocades. The moisture that ought to have gone to nourish indigenous industries is taken up by foreigners. The money goes out of the land; and Indian arts decay.

To undo the evil influence of a long standing bad example the Government should take up the policy of adopting, as far as possible, Indian styles of architecture in its buildings. That will produce a soothing effect on the eye, and a moral influence on the mind. Instead of that the Government at present helps to vitiate the taste of the people. Here is an example—“Not many years ago, a number of important buildings were being erected in Calcutta, and for their external decoration terra cotta to the value of a lakh of rupees was obtained from England. This terra cotta was not of exceptional artistic merit, to set an example to the Bengalee artisan, but the ordinary commercial ornament which is sold by the square yard by European manufacturers. Now Bengal is a great brick-making country, and there once existed a beautiful Art in moulded brick-work, still to be seen in old buildings in many parts of the Province. If a lakh of rupees had been spent in reviving this decayed art, public buildings in Calcutta would have had far better ornament and an old industry might have been revived.”†

* *More Tramps Abroad.*

† E. B. Havell—*Art Education in India.*

We hold with Mr. Growse that "throughout India there are hands ready to work, and money waiting to be spent on improvements that every one desires, but which are never undertaken, for want of a little sympathy and co-operation on the part of the local authorities, who—for all their good will—are cowed into inaction by the incubus of an arbitrary and overbearing department."*

Students of art rush to every part of Europe and even to Egypt to study art remains. But Indian art has received but scanty attention. And but for the labour of a few men like Fergusson, Cunningham, Burgess, and Rajendra Lāla Indian architecture and sculpture would have remained unknown to many. Let us hope and trust that Lord Curzon who has publicly deplored the many acts of vandalism perpetrated by his predecessors, and publicly declared that he regards the conservation of ancient monuments "as one of the primary obligations of Government †"—and who has lately evinced such unstinted sympathy for Indian art will inaugurate a new era by directing the adoption of indigenous styles of architecture in Government buildings.

Sincerity, said Lord Leighton, is the true element of life in art. And indeed no art can ever flourish if the national sentiment is not in it. The passing hobbies of globe-trotters and curio-hunters can keep no art alive. "No great painter ever painted a picture for the purpose of living in delighted contemplation of his own finished work, no sculptor would care to spend his life in a gallery of his own statues. Painters and sculptors must work for others. Dimly—in the background of their mind, throughout their work they must have some ideal recipient in view—an ideal recipient,—the counterpart of themselves, capable of fully perceiving the beauty it is their aim to render, capable of thrilling responsive to the thrill of conception that they themselves experienced." This is true of all artists. The art that has no hold on the mind of the nation, that has not developed a slowly-elaborated style of its own, that is not appreciated and sought after—can never flourish. That Indian art had a characteristic style of its own is evident. And it is this characteristic style falling into disfavour that is the cause of its decay. Once India in her plethora of wealth could give with a bounteous hand what she now seeks in vain. There is reason to believe that Indian pictorial art influenced to a considerable extent the pictorial art of Japan. When Buddhism was chased out of its native soil Buddhist missionaries fled to Tibet, to China, and to Japan. They carried with them a superior civilisation and

* *The Calcutta Review*, 1884.

† Lord Curzon on Ancient Indian Buildings—February 1900.

a superior art. And some of the treasured-paintings in some of the oldest temples of Japan closely resemble the Grecco-Buddhist art of India.*

In India a high general level of decorative excellence had obtained, and even the tools and objects of domestic utility had been made beautiful. Modern excavations have revealed a similar state of things in Pompeii. The basis, and perhaps the justification of all technical art, lies in utility, which bestows on art a dignity which nothing else can give it. And the work of the true artist lies in combining utility with beauty. We have lost that general level of decorative excellence, which manifested itself in every detail, and even on most insignificant and unimportant objects. And we do not deplore it. For that can be the case only when a long and slowly elaborated tradition has stereotyped the forms of ordinary objects of utility. In a country "where individual handwork has recently been supplanted by wholesale manufacture, and where new kinds of domestic implements of superior practical utility or cheapness or made of a new sort of material, supplant the old at frequently recurring intervals" we cannot have those fixed and slowly evolved beautiful types which a long-settled and slowly-elaborated civilisation ultimately produces. Beautiful types of objects of utility are not possible in an age of mechanical transition.

What we deplore is that for what we have lost we have gained nothing. Transitional periods such as the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries in Europe have given an incentive to art and as a result great schools of painting, sculpture, architecture and the like have flourished. But in our case the record has been a blank. And with art we are losing even our innate artistic taste which alone can in the fulness of time bring about a renaissance. When the last spark dies out and only cold ashes are left all hope of the bursting out of a blazing fire dies with it. Neglected these ancient and exquisite arts are destined to die. The leprous touch of destruction has already been laid. And if the Indian aristocracy and plutocracy do not refine their vitiated taste and revert to the indigenous styles of their own country soon—it will be too late.

The religious sentiment is akin to the art sentiment. The art sentiment from which arises that warmth of fancy which alone can inspire the creative mind often leads to religious sentiment which kindles and preserves that glow and fervour of art. It is evident in European Church buildings. In the East Buddhism was similarly potent. "It seized upon the

* *The Studio*—October 1902.

technical processes, and even the forms of the Greeks and applied them to new purposes, thereby producing a new artistic ideal, which spread away to China, thence to Japan, and has endured to our own day."* This was strongly evident in ancient India. For it was on temples and topes that the genius of the Indian artist developed and displayed itself. Even to-day it lingers among females in India. But their skill is displayed on objects and on occasions which must remain unknown to foreigners. And in India art is still more a part of national life than it is elsewhere. The caste system still preserves it in an unbroken tradition. "A people without art are restless and unhappy." And with the decay of the art instinct and the religious sentiment a day may come which it is the duty of every Government to guard against. The Government is not blind to this danger or to its significance. And we have every hope that the Government which—by word and action—has declared its policy to be to

"Fill full the mouth of Famine,
And bid the sickness cease"

—the nation whose policy at home has been to tax the rich, to feed the poor—will not be found unwilling, to do this duty by the people of India—in whose Prosperity—said the late Queen-Empress, "will be Our Strength."

But the duty of the Government dwindles into insignificance before the duty of the people themselves. No amount of legislation, no amount of sympathy and encouragement from aliens can revive or preserve from decay and destruction an art when the national sentiment is not in it. The Government has sounded the tocsin of alarm. Its warnings have all along been clear and constant. It has opened economic museums to educate the public. Now all that we can ask the Government is to set an example to the people whose artistic taste has been vitiated. It is for the aristocracy and the plutocracy of India, for her cultured people, whose experience has been expanded by intercourse with other peoples, and whose intellect has been sharpened by education, to understand the situation, to grasp the problem and solve it. It is a shame and a disgrace that it has been necessary for Englishmen to draw the attention of the Indians to the exquisite art of their own country, for aliens to deplore its decay.

It is for the Indians themselves to refine their taste—to patronise the art of their own country, and thereby fill full the mouth of their famished countrymen—an army of hereditary art workmen with whom art has never been a relaxation but ever an occupation. Will the past, asked Tennyson

* Sir W. Martin Conway—*Domain of Art*.

—“ always win
A glory from its being far ;
And orb into the perfect star
We saw not, when we moved therein ? ”

It is rather

“ The lowness of the present state,
That sets the past in this relief.”

Reverence for the past and pardonable pride in its achievements are great virtues in a nation. A people who can easily dissever themselves with a great and historic past must be wanting in self-respect. It is for the Indians to decide whether they should strive to preserve their individuality as a nation or become a set of replicas of an alien type ; whether they would keep up their ancient and glorious traditions in art or wipe it out altogether. Will they allow the glory of their predecessors to become a mere shivering of the air ? Let us hope not.

HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSE, B. A.

ART. XI.—THE CORONATIONS OF KING WILLIAM IV AND QUEEN VICTORIA.

BY ONE WHO WAS PRESENT.

A member of one of our well-known County Families who was present at the Coronations of King William IV and Queen Victoria sends us the following interesting notes :—

GEORGE IV.

In 1820 there was scarcely a living person who had been present at George III's Coronation in 1760. George IV wore a black peruke, and it was suggested that the crown should be brought from the Tower to the King's private room, so that he should see whether it would fit him. When the peruke was taken off, it appeared that the King had on his bald head a great swelling, and when the crown was placed on his head it caused him agony, and it was clear that the risk must be run of an operation of a dangerous character, though not necessarily fatal. However, each of the Royal surgeons declined to run the risk of having the King die under his knife. But George IV was a brave man, and ordered that two most experienced surgeons be sent for from a public hospital to operate on an old gentleman, with no name given; he received them in a room in a private house with his face bound up, and the operation was performed with success, and the King wore his crown for the Coronation ceremony. When Queen Caroline heard of it, she remarked that "George thinks that he has had his horns cut off, but he has not."

In my youth I knew intimately the Hon. Colonel Horace Townsend, commonly called "Bull Townsend," and heard him more than once tell the following story about George IV's Coronation :—Queen Caroline was determined to get into the Abbey in some way or other and disturb the ceremony, and the Earl-Marshal took every precaution to thwart her. It was understood that she would get entry at one of the doors with an ordinary Peer's ticket, and, when once in, would give trouble. So picked officers of the Guards were set apart for this particular duty at each door of the Abbey to prevent her entering, and use force if necessary. Bull Townsend, being a man of enormous stature and unlimited pluck, was told off to guard the little private door that leads direct from the Hall of the Deanery into the Abbey and is a private entrance. Sure enough this was the door at which the Queen attempted her entrance; but Bull Townsend recognised her, planted his body in the doorway, and neither threats nor blan-

dishments could prevail to allow anyone to pass through the door. The Queen gave up the attempt, left London for Dover, and disappeared. As a fact she died within a few weeks, as the following shows: when the Emperor Napoleon died on May 5th, 1821, one of the Lords-in-Waiting announced to King George IV "*the death of his Majesty's greatest enemy*, the only remark made by the King was "*Is she, by Jove?*" However, the King was crowned July 16th, 1821, and Queen Caroline died a few weeks after, August 7th, 1821.

WILLIAM IV.

I was present at the Coronation of William IV and have a lively recollection of it, for it was the first occasion that my eye fell on Princess Victoria of Kent, a little girl about my age. I accompanied my father, mother, and eldest brother; we boys came up from our school at Mitcham Green, and we had seats in a long gallery erected over the Dean's side of the Choir, and we looked down on those who were seated in stalls. We had gone early, and got first-rate seats in the front row, and saw all—Peers, Peeresses, and foreigners—come in to take their places, and the procession passed under our eyes, and we had a good view of the King and Queen on their thrones. I remember seeing Earl Brownlow and the Earl of Kilmorey pass under us, and the former waved his coronet. The Countess Brownlow was one of the ladies who accompanied Queen Adelaide, and one of her daughters was one of her Majesty's train-bearers. It was a very impressive sight, and I enjoyed it, though only ten years of age. I record four anecdotes.

(1) Lords Philippe, who had become King of the French, had sent his son the Duke of Nemours to take part in the ceremony, and of course he was treated with every honour. The President of the United States of America had sent his son also, but he was only admitted as an ordinary spectator, and the Americans were very angry. I suppose that there will be in this century more equality between the Republics of France and the United States.

(2) The next anecdote is rather personal. I mentioned that, the Countess Brownlow was Lady-in-Waiting to Queen Adelaide. Her special duty was to produce from her pocket a little piece of cotton wool, and when the Queen's hand had been anointed with oil, to wipe it dry with the cotton wool. She put the cotton wool back in her pocket, and we all saw it and smelt the oil. It is to be hoped we have out-lived such folly.

(3) The third story illustrates the imperfect way in which public news spread in that remote period of 1831, when there were no telegraphs, railways, etc. When we boys got

back to school at Mitcham Green, of course the whole talk was about the Coronation. Late that night two of our school-fellows arrived, who were sons of Dr. Jenkinson, the Bishop of St. David's, in South Wales. They had been several days on the road, and one of them innocently remarked that he had heard on the road that the King had been crowned on the previous day—was it true? It was the first he had heard of a Coronation. Of course we English boys burst into shouts of derision at our Welsh schoolfellows in the depth of their ignorance.

(4) The fourth anecdote relates to the Duchess of St. Albans, who was a lady not received in society, but she claimed her seat in the front row of the Peeresses, and at the proper time placed her coronet on her head, but it was quite obvious that the Duchesses to the right and left of her would not notice her, and took care that their dresses should not touch her, so she had a dull time of it. The reign of our good Queen Victoria has swept away all the objectionable features of the Court of George IV.

QUEEN VICTORIA'S CORONATION.

When this auspicious event took place, my brother and I were high up in the school at Eton College. The railroad to London had been opened and we went up the previous day, and our father took us over the ground that afternoon, so that we might make no mistakes, and the next morning at four we sallied out on foot found our way to the right door of the Abbey, ascended the staircase of the Triforium on the Sub-Dean's side, and secured good seats just at the corner, so that we had under our eyes the Chancel and Communion Table, the Throne, and looking down on our right the Peeresses, and on the opposite side to the Peers, and in a narrow pew in the chancel were all the members of the Royal Family down to the Princess Mary of Cambridge. It was a grand sight—perhaps the grandest of all the many that in all my long life I have seen in Europe or Asia. Everyone of the great personages of Great Britain whom we saw beneath us has passed away: all the members of the Royal Family, all the Peers, Bishops, Dean, Canons, Statesmen, Judges, Soldiers, Sailors, etc. I was only seventeen years of age, and am now eighty-one; so if any of those who took part in this Coronation are alive, except the present Duke of Cambridge, and his sister the grand Duchess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, they must be well up in the eighties. I find with the tickets of admission among my records, a pensketch by myself of the Abbey, and in the Triforium a + with the words "I was here in the Triforium." The scene comes back to me after a lapse of sixty-four years, and certain anecdotes rise up in my mind which I now put on


paper. In a bank of seats rising up and sloping backwards from the screen at the back of the Communion Table were the seats of the House of Commons, with Daniel O'Connell in the centre of the lowest bench. It so happened that one of the Bishops on his way to kneel down, and kiss the hand of the crowned Sovereign, missed his footing and fell down : this incident was greeted with a roar of laughter from the House of Commons, in which the deep voice of Daniel O'Connell was conspicuous. The appearance of the Abbey with all its platforms draped in red cloth was most distasteful. No circus could have been more vulgar and commonplace. A robing-room was prepared for her Majesty just behind the Communion table. It was most incongruous. We boys from our high point of observation were fortunate enough to be able to recognize most of the distinguished men present, such as the Duke of Wellington, as we were familiar with them on their visits to Windsor and Eton College. The Eton boys of the decade 1830 1840 had a feeling of profound love, and respectful devotion, to their young Queen : they had known her by sight for several years as Princess Victoria of Kent, as she was constantly a visitor to her uncle the King at Windsor Castle, and her figure on the Terrace, or riding in the Park, or passing through Eton, was familiar to them ; especially to those of the boys who had the honour of being, as we had, invited to the Children's Ball given by Queen Adelaide in honour of the Princess. It may be imagined with what intense interest we from our high point of observation saw the Archbishop place the crown on the head of the little girlish figure seated in the ancient Scone chair. And again with what feelings we looked down on the Communion table and saw her signing her name. There are events which can only happen once in a life, and cannot be forgotten, nor can the feelings be realised by those to whom it has not fallen to see such sights.

I have another most interesting anecdote to record : When the ceremony was concluded, we boys slipped down the staircase from the Transept, and found our way through the crowd, in the way only Eton boys can manage, to Montague House in Parliament-street, the residence of the Duke of Buccleuch. A long scaffolding had been erected commanding a view of the street, down which the procession must pass on its way from the Abbey. We had tickets, and being early and active got good seats in a back row, and after some time waiting beheld the Queen in her State carriage with the Crown on her head and the Sceptre in her hand, pass like a vision before us ; as the carriage arrived opposite to our scaffolding the late Duchess of Buccleuch, who was in the centre seat of honour with her coronet on her head, rose up and bowed to her Majesty, who graciously inclined

her crowned head in acknowledgment. This again was not a sight to be forgotten.

I was under the impression that my Eton school-fellow, the Earl of Nelson, had been present, as he was 14 years of age and had been present, at the funeral of King William IV in St. George's Chapel at Windsor. However, to make sure, I wrote to him to enquire, and he replied that he had been refused a seat at the Coronation among his brother Peers because he was a minor, and he had not been honoured with a seat as a private individual out of respect to the great name which he bore. He thus lost his chance of seeing the Coronation of Queen Victoria owing to his being too young, and now at the age of 78 he feels himself unequal to the fatigues of the Coronation of Edward VII, owing to his being too old. It appears to be a great mistake to exclude Peers who are minors, if they are old enough to take care of themselves.

R. N. CUST.

 We need scarcely add here that Mr. Cust received an invitation to be present at the Coronation of King Edward VII.—Ed. C. R. June 1902.

ART. XII.—PICTURESQUE AMERICA.

EVERYONE knows there are many beautiful places to be seen in America and our idea in visiting that vast Continent was to see Niagara. The magnificent scenery in the Rocky Mountains,—the Grand Canon of Colorado,—the Garden of the Gods,—the Yellow Stone Park,—the Yosemite Valley,—the big trees of California,—the Mammoth Cave of Kentucky, and many other wonderful natural productions. After spending a summer in Canada and the United States we returned to England,—going back another time to winter in beautiful Florida, with its orange groves, cocoanut palms, and acres and acres of pineapples, calling at Cuba, we returned north again through Mexico.

During the passage across the Atlantic the days were taken up in reading, playing games and watching the porpoises leaping in and out of the water. The weather was fine the early part of the voyage, but the last two days before reaching New York, a heavy fog enveloped us, this is usually experienced, and great care has to be taken by the steamers not to run down the numerous small boats, fishing off the coast of Newfoundland. The evening before we landed a concert was given in the Saloon for the benefit of the Seamen's Home.

The day after our arrival we went on to Newport, only staying one night in New York, intending to make a longer stay on our return. July and August are usually not pleasant months for seeing that important, but hot and noisy city.

Newport is a pretty place, and the "four hundred" go there every summer, not to "rusticate" but rather to add to Society's round of dinner parties, balls and luncheons, the sports and pastimes of the seaside, and country. The palatial residences of the millionaires, or "cottages" as they prefer to call them, are situated on the cliff overlooking the sea, and extend for about two miles. The grounds are handsome and like other American gardens are not enclosed by hedges.

The most beautiful of the cottages is the "Marble House" given by Mr. William K. Vanderbilt to his wife, now Mrs. Oliver, H. P. Belmont (mother of the Duchess of Marlborough). It is built of white marble and at the front are columns and Roman Corinthian capitals, and is in fact a residence fit for a Prince. Scarcely less sumptuous is the "Breakers," belonging to Mr. Cornelius Vanderbilt. In nearly all the houses are Ballrooms and banqueting Halls. Then there is "Belcourt," Mr. O. H. P. Belmont's house, and "Ochre Court," Mr. Ogden

Goelet's residence, the entrance gates are of decorative iron-work, very fine indeed ; and there are many other mansions each having a style of its own.

The private bathing bay was the fashionable resort in the mornings, men and women bathing together, and dozens of smart carriages were waiting to take their owners home to luncheon. And Belview Avenue was gay in the afternoons with elegantly dressed ladies driving up and down in magnificent equipages.

We were invited to a Ball at the Casino to meet Admiral Sicard, and the officers of the North Atlantic Squadron. Mrs. William Astor received the guests. The Ball and Reception rooms were decorated with flags, and oriental hangings and banks of roses and hydrangeas. The grounds were illuminated with Japanese lanterns and hundreds of coloured lights. So many millionaires were present at this Naval Ball, it was said that hardly ever before had so much wealth been represented under one roof.

The next morning my father and I were shown over the "Massachusetts," the largest of the United States battleships by one of the Naval Officers, and in the afternoon went on to Boston. Next day our friends there went round with us to see the Public Buildings and pointed out Bunkers Hill Monument. We were also shown over Harvard University at Cambridge.

The journey from Boston to Saratoga, from nine in the morning till four in the afternoon was a hot and dusty one. Saratoga has a wonderful variety of Mineral Springs, which are very efficacious, and it has a fine climate, the walks and drives around are charming, but it is spoiled by the swarms of terribly over-dressed rich, vulgar Jews and Jewesses, who congregate there summer after summer.

During our journey from Saratoga to Montreal we passed through Lake George and Lake Champlain ; the latter is much the larger of the two, but the former is more beautiful. In Lake George the mountains rise straight from the sides, where plenty of game is to be found, besides other animals, deer and bears. Now and again an eagle flies overhead. The Lake abounds with fish, and pretty little islands are to be seen on all sides. In former times the Indians were very fond of hunting in this district, and in Fennimore Cooper's romance, the "Last of the Mohicans" the scene was laid around here.

Montreal is a large and flourishing city, it contains several churches, of which the principal are Notre Dame, and the Cathedral of St. Peter ; nearly as much French is spoken as English. Montreal takes its name from Mount Royal, which is just outside the town ; it rises 700 feet above the

river ; we ascended to the top one afternoon, (which is reached by an elevator), and spent about an hour there, it is prettily wooded and must be delightful for picnic parties.

Shooting the " Lachine rapids " is a very novel and exciting experience, it is really dangerous as the steamer must keep in its right course or be dashed to pieces on the rocks, the boats are still piloted by Indians and they are very skilful and courageous, but it struck me that our pilot would rather be shooting the rapids in a canoe, as his forefathers had done before him.

One can go by rail, or river from Montreal to Toronto, we chose the latter route, in order to enable us to see the picturesque Islands of the St. Laurence river, there are over a thousand of them, and they are of every imaginable size, shape and appearance, some several miles in length, others only a few yards long ; some are but bare masses of rock, while others are thickly wooded. From the deck of the steamer one sees an ever changing Panorama. The river is a great summer resort and many beautiful homes are built upon these Islands. Most of the smaller ones are the freehold property of the people residing upon them. Sailing and fishing are the chief pastimes. The river contains black bass, pickerel and the muscallonge, a particularly large kind of pickerel, one fish sometimes weighing as much as twenty-five or thirty pounds.

We stopped at Alexandra Bay and Thousand Island Park and at Kingston, where there is a notable prison. During the night we passed through Lake Ontario arriving at Toronto at seven o'clock the next morning.

We stayed at Toronto about a week and had a very gay time. Although not so important as Montreal it is a much prettier and more compact city. My father was made a Member of the Yacht Club and we were invited to several dances and garden parties and enjoyed many charming drives. Canadians are always most polite to visitors from the " old country," welcoming them with open arms.

Ever since leaving home we had been looking forward to the day on which we were to see the great falls of Niagara. Crossing Lake Ontario to Lewiston, and taking the electric car we could plainly see the whirlpools and rapids below us, the water rushing at incalculable speed and tossing tumultuously about and hurling itself with irresistible force against the rocks. It was terrible and awe-inspiring, this boiling seething mass of water. At last we reached the falls. They are more wonderful than anything one can imagine, and it is impossible to take them in, all at once, one can but gaze and gaze, fascinated beyond description. And then to think Niagara never stops, it never has stopped from the beginning, and will, I suppose, go on for ever.

The Horseshoe fall on the Canadian side is the larger, having a contour of 3,010 feet or is nearly half a mile in width, with a perpendicular plunge of 158 feet, and the water is 20 feet thick, and bends over in a graceful curve. The width of the American falls is 1,100 feet or nearly a quarter of a mile wide and the precipice over which it plunges is 167 feet. There is a little steamer called the "Maid of the Mist" in which one can go right to the foot of the falls, also one can go behind them to the "Cave of the Winds" attired in waterproof suits. When the sun shines there is a perpetual rainbow on the water and the spray reaches a tremendous distance.

After lunch we took the car again to Chipperwa at the very top of the river, and upon returning crossed by the Suspension Bridge to the American side but the Falls are not seen so well from here. We drove round Goat Island and went back along the Great Gorge route close to the water. The scenery around Niagara is very fine; it is a wonderful fruit growing country, great quantities are tinned and exported every year.

Leaving Toronto early in the morning we arrived a few hours later at Windsor. A little lower down the river is the spot where Eliza (in Uncle Tom's Cabin) was supposed to have crossed on the floating ice with her child in her arms, when fleeing from her pursuers. We took the ferry across to Detroit, a large and important town in the States, returning to Windsor to sleep.

The next day we started for our trip through the Lakes of Huron and Superior. There are plenty of islands in Lake Huron, Lake Superior is almost like a little Ocean and as the weather suddenly changed I felt anything but well, and did not much enjoy the two days and night spent on board the steamer. In some parts we could not see land, but were not surprised at this as Lake Superior is 360 miles long and 140 miles wide (in its widest part), in fact it is the largest body of fresh water in the world. We went on shore at Fort William and stepping on to the train arrived at Winnipeg, capital of the Province of Manitoba, the following afternoon.

Travellers usually stay a day and night in Winnipeg to rest before resuming the long journey to Vancouver and also to see this flourishing town. It has grown immensely within the last few years and has a population of about fifty thousand inhabitants. It has a splendid trading situation, standing just where the forest ends and the vast Prairies begin and with rivers and railways radiating in every direction. To this junction the people of the West send the product of their fields and from the far North numerous furs of great variety are brought. In the streets we met several families of Indians

who had come to buy clothes and other things in the shops, and offering buffalo horns for sale, they were dressed half in native costume, making a curious mixture.

We left Winnipeg at five o'clock on a lovely evening, just warm enough to be pleasant, and the sunset was magnificent. We had still a thousand miles to go before reaching the Rocky Mountains. First we passed through the great corn growing district of Manitoba. Although a bad year elsewhere it was as good here as usual. We saw several of the huge reaping machines at work, they make in such numbers in Winnipeg. We slept in the train and the next day travelled through miles of Prairie land, it was a little monotonous, but occasionally we saw coveys of Prairie chickens, or a coyote* stealing along and the little Prairie dogs amused us greatly, they sat up and watched the train for a moment or so, then suddenly darted into their holes out of sight. Formerly herds of Buffaloes roamed the Prairies but now are very scarce and indeed seem likely to become extinct. We remained for another night in the train journeying through the great ranching country and were not sorry to reach Banff (alt. 4,500 ft.) at six o'clock in the morning.

A bright log fire was burning in the picturesque hall of the Hotel and was most acceptable, the difference in temperature being quite noticeable now that we were among the snow capped Rocky Mountains, but the air was fresh and exhilarating and after breakfast we started off for a long walk to the hot Sulphur Springs. A basin has been encircled for bathing, but open to the air and as the warm water bubbles up constantly from the bottom it is fresh all the time, little dressing rooms have been built along one side. It all looked so inviting we decided upon having a bathe immediately and much enjoyed it. Banff is in the Canadian National Park and embraces every variety of scenery and for sportsmen (shooting in the Rockies) and athletic people excellent climbs may be made from Banff and Field in the Summit range, and Glacier in the Solkirk's. Great care must be exercised however to avoid the dangerous peat swamps called "Muskegs," which abound among the mountains.

Continuing our journey the next morning at six o'clock the train passed slowly on through the Rockies and Selkirk, the latter being greener and prettier in appearance but perhaps not so majestic as the former. Before descending very powerful brakes had to be applied. We passed many waterfalls and

* Coyotes are very cunning and clever animals, they are very fond of chickens as foxes are in England and will go miles to get them, they are hated by the farmers; who set traps for them and do everything to try to exterminate them.

ivers where the fish were so plentiful there hardly seemed room for them to move in the water. We stopped at Glacier House for lunch, near here is the supposed largest glacier in the world, we could just see it from the station. Another night in the train and after seeing more lovely scenery and two or three camps of Indian and Chinese, we reached Vancouver, the terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway about 1'30 in the afternoon.

The coaches on the C. P. R. and American lines are much larger than in England, they are gorgeously upholstered and you can walk from one end of the train to the other, this relieves the monotony of a long journey. Newsboys are constantly passing with books, papers, fruit, sweets, cigars and chewing-gum. But this becomes somewhat tiresome if you are disposed to have a quiet nap, as the conversation and incessant movement around you renders it almost impossible, and I think on the whole I prefer our more private English or Indian carriages. Ladies and gentlemen occupy the same sleeping cars, the dressing rooms being situated at opposite ends and you must either undress there and chance meeting one of the opposite sex on the way to your berth, or you must undress when you get into it, which is rather a difficult matter, especially when the train is going at full speed; you pile your clothes round you or hang them on hooks over your head. If an upper berth has been allotted to you, the Nigger porter brings you a ladder and helps you to scramble up into it, and you are at his mercy if you want to come down again, and Nigger porters are despotic creatures!

The check system is excellent. A check is given to you for your luggage at the station, or before you leave your hotel and you cannot get your belongings again until you produce it, in this way any possibility of losing your things is avoided, it seems a pity such a good system is not employed in England.

Lastly the Americans are the cleverest "Baggage Smashers" in the world; of course I had ironclad trunks as it is madness to have any other kind. During the first twelve hours' run the lock was knocked off my largest trunk and at various times I had to call a man in to make sundry repairs.

There is a lovely wood or natural park at Vancouver, the timber is splendid, nothing has been done to this forest except a clearing made for a walk to go through it. Everything grows luxuriously in British Columbia, there is a good deal of rain and the climate generally is very much the same as in England. There are a number of Chinese at Vancouver, many of them being employed as domestic servants. We walked through the Chinese quarter before leaving; it is not so large or important as China town at San Francisco.

There are also many Chinese at Victoria. The large Navy Yard at Esquimault is the Head-Quarters of the English Pacific Squadron. Victoria, although so young a city already contains some fine public buildings.

Our next stopping place was Seattle, the "Klondyke Boom" was just then at its height and constituted the chief topic of conversation. Most of the shops were fitted out with things for the Klondyke, clothes, cooking utensils, etc. A vessel was just about to start and great excitement was manifested. Some of the streets in Seattle are so steep you can hardly keep your place in the tramcars, you are nearly precipitated into the lap of the person beside you. Snow-capped Mount Rainier can be seen very well from Seattle.

We took the steamer to Tocona as the waters of Puget Sound are considered very attractive. When we arrived the townspeople were rushing off to the "County Fair," which takes place annually in September, so we thought we could not do better than go too. It was a novel and busy scene. There were American Trotting, cycle and other races. A collection of things to be sent to the Klondyke, and exhibits of flowers and poultry; the country people had come from all the little villages round about.

Two days and nights had to be passed in the train again on our way to San Francisco, in some parts it was so steep, the engine seemed to crawl along; in one place there was a ferry to cross and the train was taken on to the steamer just as it was, and conveyed to the other side.

On our arrival at San Francisco we drove to the Palace Hotel, and were soon snugly ensconced in our rooms. It is a handsome building with a spacious courtyard and a band plays every evening at dinner. The waiters are Negroes or "Coloured Gentlemen" as they prefer to be called and the "Chambermaids" are Chinese. A great number of Chinese are employed in the city, they make very good house servants; others keep laundries; they wash remarkably well. Some of the American food I liked very much, sweet corn and one or two other vegetables we do not have in England, but little neck clams and sweet potatoes I did not care for at all, although they are liked by nearly everyone. Of course we had the most beautiful fruit in profusion, California being celebrated for it, exporting a great quantity of canned fruit every year. The Canteloupe melon is everywhere present in the States, and one rarely sees a breakfast table without it. At most of the Hotels everything is brought to you at once, you are simply surrounded by dishes, soup, salmon, white fish, red fish, blue fish or pan fish, squabs, quail on toast, roast pig and duckling, pheasant, fried egg plant, oysters and oyster

plant, salads, ices of all kinds, pumpkin pie, punch (a kind of water ice), custard pie, apple pie, meringues, and biscuit, blue berries and huckleberries and all other berries, tea, and above all ice water, wine being rarely taken at meals, and you can eat all these things and many more if you want to.

The whirr of trams is heard on all sides in Frisco, for some of the streets are so steep you can hardly walk up and down them. We were soon on our way to Chinatown and found it so interesting that we returned again and again. I believe there are forty or fifty thousand men and less than nine hundred women, the latter are of very depraved character which is hardly to be wondered at as they are bought and sold like slaves. The Chinese have taken to themselves one of the best parts of the city and no doubt the Americans would be only too glad to turn them out if they could, there are so many of them, and in fact have forbidden any more to land in San Francisco, they are law-abiding as regards the whites; but in Chinatown they do the most dreadful things hardly checked. If a man is found dead in the streets it is almost impossible to find the murderer. It is quite safe to walk about in the day-time, as American policemen are stationed at every corner, but at night it is better not to go unprotected. We visited some of the Joss houses, they are beautifully decorated with good carving overlaid with gold; incense is kept constantly burning to their god "Joss," he is a dark hideous figure sitting on a kind of shrine.

Here and there are to be seen beautiful curio stores, the provision shops contain all kinds of Chinese food (birds, beasts and fish are preserved and sent over from China) for those who can afford to buy it. The chemists sell very peculiar drugs, some of their prescriptions containing snails, grubs, bats, worms, lizards, etc.

Some of the Chinamen who passed us in the streets we noticed were enormously stout and others so thin they looked almost like skeletons, these were usually the habitual opium smokers. The women had a very peculiar appearance, their black hair was so plastered down with grease, it resembled wood, they seemed to dislike having their photographs taken very much, for everytime I presented my kodak towards them they turned their backs upon me, but the fathers pushed their children towards me so that I might take pictures of them, and seemed highly flattered if I picked out any particular child from a group.

One evening we were taken to the Chinese theatre, it was most comical, the actors were very grotesque and shrieked at the top of their voices, the clashing of cymbals and beating of drums and gongs was deafening. Women are not allowed

to act, so men personate them; we sat on the stage part of the time, and went behind into the dressing-rooms and upstairs into the actors' living rooms, people were walking about on the stage all the time during the play, and the actors did not seem to mind at all.

We visited Golden Gate Park, beloved of San Franciscans, it was thronged with people and a band was playing. The conservatory contains a specimen of the Victoria Regia Lily believed to be the only one in America.

• Before leaving Frisco we made an excursion to the Cliff House on the Pacific Coast where are the largest swimming baths in the world, men and women bathing together, as is usual in America. All kinds of acrobatic devices were hanging over and a band was playing.

Many people spend hours in the water. From the Piazza we could see the famous Seal Rock, upon which more than a hundred great Sea Lions were lying, or wriggling over one another, while others were diving in and out of the water they were barking exactly like dogs and making a terrible noise; no one is allowed to molest them. Returning home we passed the "Golden Gates" as the rocks are called at the entrance to the Bay, and Laurel Hill Cemetery. Close by rises Lone Mountain, on its summit is a large wooden cross which can be seen from any part of the city.

After nearly a week spent in San Francisco we started for a trip across the Nevada Mountains to the celebrated Yosemite Valley, passing the night on the river we arrived at Stockton—at seven o'clock, taking the train to Merced and at 9-30 clambered up into the rambling old stage coach which was to convey us to Conterville. It was a most trying day, the heat was excessive, and the jolting terrible, we could hardly keep our seats; then the dust! it covered us in clouds, being inches deep on the ground; we had lunch at the cabin of an old negro. A fine pair of horses and a light four-wheeled carriage was waiting for us at the door of the hotel at Conterville. At 6-30 the next morning, and after we had packed ourselves in and our handbags had been disposed around us we started off for a fifty-mile drive across the Sierra Nevada, the drivers sitting on a little seat in front of us, sometimes in descending, the horses galloped at break neck pace dashing round the corners. Luckily our steeds were sure footed, but had they fallen we should all have gone right over the precipice hundreds of feet below; some of the views were very fine and when I was not too frightened I enjoyed it immensely, and as we were becoming accustomed to the dust did not mind it so much, it was certainly an "experience," night was falling as we entered the Valley about seven o'clock in the evening.

The Yosemite Valley is considered one of the most beautiful places in the world, it is a nearly level area, 400 feet above the sea, and about nine miles in length. It is enclosed by great masses of rock, some of them reaching 6,000 feet; many of these rocks have had names given to them as "El Capitan," the "Cathedral Rock" and "the spires." One can either drive through the Valley, or the more adventurous may take horses and ascending, follow the Indian trails. We started in our buggy after breakfast and visited Mirror Lake, a charming spot surrounded by trees, and the Bridal Veil Falls. It was delicious driving under the pine trees and watching the beautiful grey squirrels, and after lunch we watched the trout in the stream that flowed just beneath the verandah of the hotel. The water was so clear the fish could be distinctly seen.

Leaving the Valley at 6.30 next morning we again passed "El Capitan" and ascending for some miles reached Wovana in time for lunch.

Directly afterwards we drove six miles to see the "Big Trees" of California. The Mariposa Grove contained five or six hundred of these Redwood trees, the larger ones have special names, as "Uncle Tom's Cabin," the "Faithful Couple," etc., two of the trees have had roadways cut through them. Our little buggy passed easily through; enough room has been allowed for a waggon and horses and it has in no wise injured the trees; there is plenty of wood on each side and they are still flourishing. But the largest of all is the "Guzzly Giant" supposed to be four thousand years old, unfortunately the top is broken off but even now it is very high, the first branch is nearly 220 feet from the ground, and 6 feet in diameter.

The remnant of a prostrate tree nearly consumed by fire, is hollow and will admit of the passage of three horsemen riding abreast. Unfortunately many of them have been burnt in some part, as frequent fires occur in the forest. On returning down the mountains to the Hotel we saw in the Valley below, miles of forest pines on fire, it was a wonderful sight the lurid glow in the dusk of evening gave a weird appearance to the scene. It was terrible to think of all that magnificent timber being lost. Sometimes a conflagration in the forest will rage for a week or two until it burns itself out.

We were up early the next morning for our return journey of 50 miles to Couteville and the following day re-joined the stage coach again for Merced *en route* for San Francisco.

On our way to Salt Lake City we had the misfortune to run into a large flock of sheep, killing many and wounding others. There were no hedges to protect the track and

the sheep happened to be crossing the line, the train was rounding a curve and was brought to a standstill as soon as possible, but even when they saw the train they still went on, following one another and literally jamming themselves into the wheels, it was a sickening sight, there appeared to be no one in charge of them. It took more than an hour to clear the wheels for the train to proceed, had she been going at great speed she would certainly have been derailed.

Salt Lake City, at the present time very much resembles any other well kept American town. We were allowed to visit the Tabernacle, a building with an immense dome-like roof that will seat 13,000 persons, while Sunday service was proceeding. Close to the Tabernacle stands the Temple, a lovely granite building in which the Mormon rites are performed, only true Mormons are allowed within its sacred doors. Not far away is a statue of Brigham Young, he succeeded Joseph Smith as Chief of the sect and in 1847 landed with a small band of followers in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake to found a home where they might worship God without mob-station. Brigham Young, as President soon made homes for the people and founded schools and established churches, cultivating gardens and lands, so a thriving town soon sprang up. As in most new religions many more women become followers than men it was thought advisable for the men to take to themselves two wives or more according to their ability to keep them in comfort. The Mormon religion is in many ways a good one, but when Salt Lake City became part of the United States, Polygamy was forbidden to the "Latter Day Saints" by the Government, and it is rumoured that since its abolition one of the chief attractions of the religion has been lost, at any rate as far as the men are concerned. It is doubtful, however, in the present day if the women are of the same opinion. Any way it seems as if it will not be long before it dies out altogether.

Brigham Young had twenty-six wives and over sixty children; he certainly looked after them well and many of his children have honorable positions in Utah. Most of his wives had separate establishments of their own, and for his favourite wife Amelia he built an especially beautiful house.

We inspected the Hall of Relics which contains many Indian articles and various products of Mormon industry, also articles sacred to the memory of their beloved President. Brigham's watch, his woollen bedstead and even his old clothes were there, his hat, boots, and trousers were hung up in a glass case! All these interesting and valuable relics were being carefully preserved!

Of course we visited the Great Salt Lake, it is some little

distance from the city, and is one of the greatest natural curiosities of the west, it is 75 miles long, and is 4,200 feet above the sea. A fine dancing pavilion, and numerous bath houses have been built; bathing in the Lake is a most curious experience, it is only with the greatest difficulty one can keep one's feet down and one's head up!—on returning from the Lake we noticed great quantities of the salt being extracted for exportation. Not far from the city is a place called Fort Douglas where a regiment of negroes is kept.

The Red Indians interested me greatly. We constantly met groups of these people who had come into the town to sell various articles of their own manufacture to the store keepers; elaborately worked mocassins, (boots) in different coloured beads, beautifully made baskets, embroidery on buckskin with porcupine quills, war clubs, ornamented parts of their dress, etc. We bought a variety of these things, including a fine specimen of a Chief's head-dress made of eagles' tail feathers, and further ornamented; the length being nearly six feet, this hangs down from the head to the heels, forming a crest down the back. The Chief to whom it belonged had gambled it away, he lost all his money and next morning he returned to the city and made all kinds of promises to get it back again, but the man who had won it from him, would not part with it.

Some of the men wear a mantle of buffalo skin adorned with porcupine quills, and beaded mocassins and jingling things, and beads around their necks; but more often with their antelope skin leggings they wear a European coat, and a blanket thrown over their shoulders surmounted by a bowler hat, which certainly looks very peculiar on their lank black hair, although many still wear a band of red cloth across the forehead, or a single upright feather. Sometimes they dye their skin garments with different colours and draw animals and reptiles upon them. They are very fond of their children. The mother carries her baby (papoose) in a flat box on her back suspended by a piece of leather or cloth passed around her forehead. The Squaws do all the work of the camp and dress furs, and raise Indian corn, while the men go out hunting, —formerly the Bison was the animal most readily obtained, as it roamed the Prairies in countless thousands and was useful for food and clothing, but unfortunately so many have been killed, there are very few left now.

Sometimes from the trains we saw the wagons of some travelling Indians, generally placed by a stream or some projecting rocks overlooking a beautiful river.

The Redskins are not allowed to roam about in numbers as

they please, but are restricted to definite Reservations where they are looked after by the Government of the United States, the same thing being done in Canada. But many have been encouraged to become citizens and respectable members of Society, wearing the European dress and sending their children to schools.

There are many different tribes, the best known perhaps being the Delawares, Apaches, Crées, Blackfeet, Hurons, Eries, Mohawks, Chippewas, Crows, Comanches, Omahas, and Pueblos; and it must be a great deprivation to them not to be able to make war upon one another, as hunting and fighting formed their chief pastime in days gone by.

When a Chief dies, his bow and arrows, clothes, pipe, etc., also his horse, are buried with him to be ready for him when he reaches the next world. They usually name themselves from some animal as "Kicking Bear," "Sitting Bull" or "Black Eagle," and worship Manitou, the Great Spirit; putting absolute faith in the Medicine Man or Witch Doctor.

Although most of the Red-skins live in Wigwams made of buffalo skins, the Pueblo Indians in New Mexico have for centuries built compact little dwellings of mud, and made towns, and for years have fortified themselves in this way against the attacks of their more savage neighbours.

The place above all others I wished to see in America was the Great Yellowstone National Park, and I can certainly say it is the most wonderful spot besides Niagara I have ever visited. To begin with, it is sixty-five miles long, and fifty-five in width, and at one period was the scene of remarkable volcanic activity, it contains Hot Springs, large groups of Geysers, which throw up columns of boiling water to a great height, some of them hundreds of feet into the air. The Grand Canon, Sulphur Mountains, the Yellowstone River, and numerous Lakes, the Mammoth Paint Pots (Mud Geysers of various colours) and the Park in some parts is very mountainous. The Geysers play at intervals, some once a day, others once a week, and still another throws up the water only once in seven years. They have most of them names, as the "Beehive," and "Giantess" and "Old Faithful," who is much appreciated, plays regularly every hour; but I must say many of them were very obliging the day we explored them, as first one, and then another, began to play just as we were driving past.

The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone is the most beautiful Cañon in the world, as besides its great length and height, variegated tints appear on its sides, red, yellow, brown, and white intermixed and shading into each other. The Falls dash into the river below, and the lower walls of the Cañon are covered with a luxuriant growth of ferns and moss.

But at Mammoth Hot Springs we saw the most beautiful sight of all, there are numbers of graceful terraces rising one above another, and the lime deposit is of the most exquisite colouring, red, pink and white; these formations cover some acres of ground, and where the water has settled into pools every imaginable tint is to be seen.

The Mud Volcano which throws up masses of boiling mud and "Black Growler" are more awe-inspiring than beautiful, the hissing of the latter and the fumes can be heard and felt for nearly a mile away. But no amount of description can really convey to anyone not having seen them, the peculiarities of this extraordinary region.

Game is very plentiful, mountain sheep, bear, antelope, elk, deer, etc., can be found. Within the boundary game is preserved. A little animal one constantly sees is the Chipmunk, it resembles a squirrel, but is much smaller and has not such a bushy tail, it darts up and down the trees looking at one with its bright black eyes.

We stayed four or five days in the Park, some excellent Hotels have been built at various points, we drove from one to the other, seeing new sights every day, constantly meeting our friends who had been hunting outside this region, and were exploring its wonders before returning home, and most picturesque they looked in their hunting costumes, with Mexican saddles and trappings for their horses. The older members of the party General Coppenger and Sir Rose Price driving in a light wagon with a team of four fine mules. In their train were numbers of Indian scouts, negro servants, pack horses, mules and camp necessities.

The day before we left the park, October 2nd, the first snow appeared,—we left the Fountain Hotel at 6-30 to drive to the Lake Hotel. A little snow had fallen during the night, but higher up the mountains (8,340 feet high) the snow was twelve inches deep in the roadway and the horses could scarcely get along. Through proceeding so slowly we lost the steam boat, and had to drive the whole of the way round the Lake, arriving at our destination at 9-30 in the evening, almost frozen after the drive of fifty miles in the open carriage.

In order to get some idea of the surrounding country we drove most of the way to and from the Park in a light carriage, instead of taking the train, stopping to rest at night at some small Ranch with a log cabin, in one of these huts nothing was to be seen of the walls but rough logs, with moss between; nevertheless it was very snug and comfortable, with a warm stove, and was furnished entirely with skins of animals, on the floors, chairs, sofas, etc. Antelope and elk meat was often set before us, the latter has a very fine flavour and somewhat resembles a tender beef steak.

Returning to Salt Lake City, we made many purchases, furs, rugs, articles made of rattlesnake skin, Indian dolls and idols, and a fine elk head. Unfortunately the elk will soon become as scarce as the buffalo, as there is no law for preserving game.

On our way to Chicago we stopped at Glen Wood Springs, and from there went to Aspen, a mining town about forty miles distant, we went down the "Molly Gibson" Silver Mine, the largest in America. The foreman gave us old hats and coats to put on, and took us for about a mile along a little railway track on a trolley under the mountains, each carrying a candle, then we were let down in a cage (which merely consisted of two bars, one to sit on, and the other to hold on by) many feet into the earth; although it was very interesting I was not sorry to be in the sunshine again. Afterwards we went over the Mills, where they were washing the waste from the silver.

Another stop was made at Colorado Springs, we visited Manitou Springs and the Garden of the Gods, where there are some wonderful formations of red sand stone, two rocks called the entrance gates being 400 feet high; the weather was delightfully warm. We also ascended to the Seven Falls, I riding a donkey, the boy told me I could keep the animal if I wished for the same price as hiring it, as they had so many they did not know what to do with them; he also said he could make me a present of two hundred donkeys, the only condition being that I was to take them all, needless to say I declined "with thanks."

Another day we went up "Pikes Peak" (14,147 feet high—nearly three miles straight up in the air) by the cog-wheel railway, the air is so fresh it makes one feel at first a little giddy. There was a great deal of snow on the top, it was bitterly cold. About half way up vegetation ceases entirely.

Personally I do not like Chicago, it is much too busy and bustling for my taste, the racket in the streets is terrible and conversation rendered impossible, but naturally the Chicago people think there is no place like it. We visited Armour's stockyards, they are very extensive, but I could not be induced to enter the slaughter houses, although I have heard that many ladies do so. The "Auditorium" is a fine Hotel, the dining-room being on the top floor. Nearly all the waiters in the States are negroes, and excellent attendants they make.

From Chicago we went some miles south, to Nashville to see the Exhibition of products of the South, calling on the way at St. Louis, a large and important city where in 1904 the "Great World's Fair" is to be held, which they say is to beat Chicago's "Fair" into nothing. Passing through one of the beautiful Parks we observed another Victoria Regia Lily.

Great difficulty was experienced in securing accommodation in Nashville, the place being crowded. An interesting Exhibition of cotton, Indian corn and other things particularly grown in the South, was being held. It was a warm balmy day; there were almost as many negroes as white people there, the farther down South you get the more "blacks" you see.

We had a letter of introduction to the owner of a large cotton plantation about ten miles farther South. This gentleman kindly drove us all round the plantation which had almost the appearance of snow, the cotton just bursting from the pod. A great number of negroes were employed in picking the cotton, in fact there were not more than a dozen white people in the village, they were very clean and tidy-looking, the women dressed in plain cotton clothes, and wearing sunbonnets. These people, whose fathers were slaves receive good wages, but racial feeling is still very strong between blacks and whites. In the South "niggers" are not allowed to travel in the same railway carriages, or sit in the same waiting rooms as white men, one being labelled "coloured," the other "white," and they have Churches to themselves; but they are happy and merry, preferring "a hand-to-mouth" existence, and are as improvident as can be, rarely saving anything, but being absolutely contented with their position of inferiority, the race problem adjusts itself.

In the Northern States the negroes are quite different, they are more "sassy" and stand upon their rights, elbowing themselves into the tramcars and taking the best seats everywhere if they can get them, dressing most ridiculously, aping the fashions and smothering themselves with jewellery, both men and women. They love a conglomeration of bright colours. A girl I noticed in New York was wearing a purple skirt, green bodice and tremendous magenta hat, and I was highly amused one day, when some one came to ask me if I had any "orders" for the coloured "wash lady."

Returning north, through Kentucky we did not fail to visit the celebrated Mammoth Cave, one of the greatest natural curiosities in the world. We sallied forth after breakfast, a party of eight or ten, the ladies attired in bloomers, the men in overalls. We followed the guide down a wild rocky path to the mouth of the cave and each one was provided with a candle. The cave is perfectly wonderful, the stalactites and stalagmites are of every imaginable shape and appearance, some are of gigantic size, being several feet in circumference. A river runs through the cave in which live fishes, without eyes, and there is an eyeless crawfish. The cave also contains chambers, domes, grottoes and lakes. And the atmosphere is so pure and fresh we did not feel in the least tired after our eight-mile walk.

Breaking the journey at Louisville and again at Cincinnati, we arrived at Washington City late in the evening spending the next morning with President M'Kinley at White House, and little we thought then that this generous and noble hearted man would come to such an untimely end. The Capital of the Republic contains the finest Public buildings in the State. The "Capital" of white marble is considered by many people in America to be the grandest building in the world. By an elevator, we ascended the Washington Monument, an obelisk 555 feet high, whence a splendid view of the city is obtained. The new library was only just opened, the exterior is very fine, and the decoration of the interior cost a large sum of money.

One evening we went up to the drawing-room of the Hotel and found a dark handsome woman sitting there with two or three attendants. She entered into conversation and proved to be well up in all the topics of the day; we afterwards discovered that she was the Queen of Honolulu and was staying there with her secretaries and maids-of-honour.

We stayed one day at Philadelphia, a nice clean town with wide streets and large shops, and in the suburbs are fine dwellings. Philadelphia is the principal city of Pennsylvania which was founded by the illustrious William Penn,* "who was a man worthy to be held in reverence. He was the only son of Sir William Penn, a distinguished Admiral, was born 1644, received an excellent education, but disappointed the ambitious hopes of his father by his determined adherence to the doctrines of the Society of Friends, after a variety of persecutions which he bore with exemplary courage and patience, he obtained from Charles II. a grant of country on the west side of the Delaware, in consideration of a public debt due to his father. His treating with the Indians, and his Code for the Government of his province are familiar to all."

It was pleasant to be able to settle down for a week or two in New York after the fatigue of the constant railway travelling of the past months. My father was invited to become a member of the University Club, in Madison Avenue. Much time was taken up in visiting the theatres, lunching at the Waldorf, receiving callers and bouquets of flowers, and having a good time generally. We stayed at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, Madison Square, and out of it runs Fifth Avenue the aristocratic streets of New York, where reside the millionaires. Elegant carriages are constantly driving up and down and "Church Parade" on Sunday mornings is a brilliant sight, many fine churches being near at hand. People ought to be

* I am proud to say an ancestor of mine.

good in New York, rumour says there are five hundred churches in the city including St. Patrick's Cathedral.

But I think the nicest place in New York is Central Park, you can always enjoy an hour there. The grey squirrels are so tame they will come and eat nuts out of your hand. And there are such charming drives, it is impossible to drive in the streets of New York with comfort, the roads are so badly paved, but people do not attempt it, the electric, and cable car system is so splendid, and will take anyone anywhere for five cents and the overhead railways are so convenient, but the noise below is rather overpowering until you get used to it.

It is sometimes amusing to spend an afternoon at one of the large stores, perhaps Wannamaker's, or Siegel and Cooper's, you can turn over and examine nearly everything in the shop if you want to (I have seen women do it) and no one worries you to buy anything.

One day we went to Coney Island across Brooklyn Bridge,—reached by train or electric car. When the weather is warm a great deal of bathing is indulged in, mixed bathing being "the thing" here as at all other American resorts. Shows without number are to be seen on all sides, and every amusement imaginable, switchbacks, "loops," spiral railways, and chutes, and there are dozens of cafés and restaurants. Someone once said that Coney Island is open "twenty-four hours of each day and seven days in each week" in the season, and I think he was about right, thousands of New Yorkers go and return day and night, there being no difference whatever made on Sundays. Manhattan Beach is the fashionable part of the Island, there is not the "fun," to be found here, as at Coney Island but it is certainly more "select."

New York is certainly a very fine city, but I wish there were not so many advertisements, they make the place really too unsightly; it is the same, however, in all the towns, in quite rural parts, wherever there is an eligible spot where an advertisement could be fixed, one is sure to appear; no place is held sacred to the Yankee, to whom business comes before everything.

Sailing home in the "Teutonic" the last we saw of America was the famous colossal statue of "Liberty enlightening the world." It is made of copper and iron, is 151 feet high, and stands on a pedestal of marble 155 ft. high. The figure is crowned with a diadem, and holds a torch in its right hand, the fore-finger of which is seven feet long. At night it is lighted by electricity. This figure was the work of Bartholdi and was given by France to the United States.

December, twelve months later found us again in New York *en route* for Florida, it was bitterly cold, there had been a

heavy fall of snow, and the road-men in white uniforms were carting away great frozen blocks of it. During the mornings the sun shone brightly, but 'as the days grew to a close we could hardly endure the biting wind, so made all possible haste to get down to St. Augustine. 'Here everything was changed, summer reigning instead of winter, warm breezes, butterflys, roses, stephanotis and other flowers in profusion, taking the place of snow and ice.

Sometime ago St. Augustine belonged to the Spaniards, and the old Spanish Fort is still here, and some parts of the town have still a Spanish appearance. The old slave market has a certain amount of interest. The American Hotels are palatial, crowds of New Yorkers and rich Canadians go down there every season, and still farther south to Palm Beach and Miami. One Sunday morning we thought we would see how they conducted the service at the little "coloured" church, we were the only white people present. The church was full of negroes of all ages, men, women, children, and babies in arms. Some of them looked rather anxiously at us when we entered, wondering why we had come. The preacher was a very educated man and preached a remarkably good sermon, and at the close of the service he came and thanked us for going, and hoped we would repeat our visit; while delivering his discourse he stood on a raised platform and a fat man stood beside him and led the singing (which was accompanied by a harmonium), it sounded wonderfully well. Negroes as a rule have good voices and are usually musical. They seemed very earnest and devout

We took some trips on the St. John's Ocklawaha and Indian rivers, where we saw many curious animals and birds, turtles, alligators, buzzards, grey squirrels and multitudes of robins, these latter are much larger than our birds of the same name. Alligator hunting is the chief pastime about there, parties go out in a small boat and catch them and drag them to shore. I do not know what would occur if the boats happened to capsize!

Staying for a few days at Rockledge, among the Orange Groves, we enjoyed ourselves plucking and eating as much of the sweet juicy fruit as we liked. The rind of the Florida orange is different in appearance from others, being rough and red-brown in colour, you cannot tell the real taste of an orange, or to what perfection it can attain, until you have gathered it fresh from the tree, all warm from the rays of the sun.

The only disagreeable feature about Florida is the insects. There is a tiny red ant, which is everywhere present, especially where there is food; one day I saw a trail of millions walking up a little table in my room, fortunately I noticed they were making for some biscuits which had been put there, so

threw them out of the window, and the ants immediately disappeared. Then there are some great fat yellow and black beetles, two inches long, which frequently come into the houses, also flying beetles, four inches in length and the same measurement across their wings. In the summer, mosquitoes and sand flies are unendurable, but we were not much troubled with these awful pests.

On our way to Palm Beach we stopped for a day at a large Pineapple district, many of the fields were over twenty-six acres in extent. Growing on the ground they reminded one of cabbages, although somewhat more graceful in appearance.

Palm Beach is certainly the loveliest place in Florida, every imaginable tropical flower growing in the open air. The sun shone brilliantly at 6-30 in the morning, but it became dark soon after five o'clock. On one side of our Hotel was beautiful Lake Worth, along the shores of which numbers of coconut trees were growing, and on the other the Ocean. There were no carriages at Palm Beach, people riding about in rickshaws.

We went for a long walk to a forest, to see a gigantic rubber tree, and on the way saw many queer animals, we visited the Museum, which contains specimens of all the animals, birds, fishes, insects and reptiles found in Florida, there were also some live wild cats, and several rattle-snakes, who made a tremendous noise with their rattles as we approached them, being nearly mad with rage.

After staying two or three days at Miami, we went by steamer to Key West, proceeding thence to Havana.

As the war between the United States and Spain had just drawn to a close, everything was in a terrible state of confusion in Cuba. In every public square and open space to be found American soldiers were encamped. Out in Havana harbour lay the remains of the "Maine," never was seen such a complete wreck, only her mast and some pieces of rusty iron appearing above the water. The night of the terrible explosion many of the sailors were instantly killed and others dreadfully wounded. Captain Sigsbee was thrown from his berth but uninjured. He behaved with great bravery and coolness, getting the wounded men off the ship as soon as possible, and himself being the last to leave. I suppose exactly how it happened will never be known, but anyway the Spanish ships in the Harbour did all they could to help the sufferers conveying them to land where they were taken care of in the hospitals, and a cemetery was given to them in which to bury their dead, but it is unnecessary to say any more about this, or regarding the war that followed, it was on everyone's tongue at the time.

The Cubans are all shades of colour, from white to quite black, but the greater number are light brown, a mixture of Indian, Spanish, and Negro blood; walking in the streets, it distressed me to see many faces terribly scarred from the ravages of small-pox, dozens passed me in a few minutes. The principal streets were fine and had fine boulevards but the older parts of the town were dirty, and smelt nearly as badly as Constantinople or Naples. The heat was intense, most of the people were very thinly clad, and as for many of the children, their account at the tailor's or dressmaker's was nil. We went over the Fort, where food was being found by the American Government for hundreds of starving people every day. And were taken over the largest cigar factory in Havana, it was interesting to see the hundreds of men and girls at work.

Cuba is such a rich Island they say it will grow anything, but as the Cubans are so lazy, they have never done much to bring it to any great state of cultivation.

About three days were taken up in crossing the Gulf of Mexico for Vera Cruz. The Gulf swarms with sharks, and as the water was so clear sometimes we saw hundreds of them following the ship, some with their babies besides them.

After spending only a few hours in Vera Cruz where the thermometer stood at 110 we started off in the train for Mexico city, 7,350 feet above the sea. The train had to climb round the mountains, at times it was quite exciting, and at some points the views were superb. We found it considerably cooler in Mexico city, the evenings being quite chilly, it is astonishing what a difference altitude makes, the sunsets were often gorgeous.

Mexico was peopled in remote ages by the Toltecs, Zapotecs and Aztecs. Many curious ruins are still to be found, some of them resembling Egyptian architecture and carving, to a remarkable extent. Very little is known about them. There is much for the antiquarian to study. The Cathedral in Mexico city stands, on the site of the great Aztec Temple, and the sacrificial stone, upon which were sacrificed sixty thousand people, is now in the Museum. The manner of sacrifice was this:—The victim was laid flat on his back upon the stone, and four priests held him, while a fifth, despite his piercing cries, cut out his heart, which, still panting with life was offered to the goddess.

Mexico was conquered by the Spaniards at the beginning of the 16th century, who held possession until 1821 when the Mexicans gained their independence. The rich Mexicans clothe themselves sumptuously in velvet and gold and the trappings and saddles of their horses are often very costly. Some of the ladies are refined and beautiful. The capital is

a well governed city, bull fights take place here as in Spain. It is a pity, as the Mexicans are naturally a brutal people and much cruelty is shown to animals. A great bull fight took place while we were there, and the rush of people was tremendous. We happened to be driving past as the building was being emptied, many of the men were nearly mad with excitement and hustled and pushed each other about as if they hardly knew what they were doing. The trams are drawn by mules, they beat them and keep them at a constant gallop, the poor animals only get one meal a day, and have a half-starved appearance. The townspeople carry their dead to the Cemetery on trolley cars drawn by mules, the mourners following in a tramcar behind.

The fruit market is quite a sight, hundreds of the country people, mostly Indians, flock there in the early morning. It is interesting to notice the diversity of costume and variety of character. They sell a great quantity of cooked food which they prepare in the streets on a simple cooking apparatus. They are very fond of frogs, which they skin alive with the greatest unconcern. "Pulque" is the favourite beverage of the lower classes, it is procured from a plant which is grown extensively in the open country. It has rather the appearance of milk, I tasted it and found it most disagreeable, it is very intoxicating if taken in large quantities.

After visiting the National Gallery and the President's Palace, we drove out to Chapultepec Castle, once the residence of Maximilian, on the site of Montezuma's palace, and now the President's summer home. It is a beautiful place on a hill and commands a superb view. It is surrounded by some very fine old trees said to have been planted by the Aztecs.

There are many interesting old places not far from Mexico city. Guadalupe, where rumour says the Virgin appeared to an Indian boy and imprinted her image on his coat, at the same time a spring of water sprang up from the ground supposed to cure all diseases. The coat is taken care of in the Cathedral; thousands of pilgrims flock there every year.

While we were at Cuernavaca a terrible earthquake shock was felt, everything swaying backwards and forwards, and a great rumbling noise was heard under the ground, it was truly appalling. The Indians in the streets went down on their knees and remained so for many minutes. The plaster from the ceilings was strewn all over the floors. In Mexico city, and other places many houses fell and numbers of people were killed and injured. Popocatepetl the presumed extinct volcano can be seen within a few miles of the capital, it is a noble looking mountain.

Leaving Mexico city early in the morning we arrived at

San Moguel, an Indian town, late in the evening. The costume of the women is very simple, they dress very much alike in just a white skirt, chemisette, low at the neck and without sleeves, and a blue cotton shawl is thrown over their heads and shoulders, they usually become mothers at the age of fourteen or fifteen years. The men wear white cotton clothes and straw hats, always carrying a bright red blanket thrown over one shoulder to wrap round them when evening approaches, in the same manner as the Mexicans.

Resuming our journey we stayed for a few days at New Orleans, it was very warm and roses were climbing over the fronts of some of the houses. It had been raining for two or three days before and the streets were almost under water ; it is very difficult to drain New Orleans as it lies below the river, which is prevented from overflowing by a vast embankment of earth called the Levee. This Levee is fourteen feet high and fifteen feet wide and forms a delightful promenade, it extends for some miles along the river bank. In the cemeteries the coffins are placed in niches in the walls, the ground being so full of water, they are then bricked up, and a tablet with the name of the deceased upon it is let in.

At Chittanooga, some miles north the cold was intense, being many degrees below zero. We ascended the mountain, but could hardly enjoy it in such bitter weather.

A tremendous amount of snow fell during the next few days, and within twenty-five miles of Washington the train came to standstill, although there were three engines and a snow plough in front,—the coal had all been used up through putting on extra steam and there we had to content ourselves to remain for two or three days until the relief train came from Washington. Luckily the porters managed to keep the cars warm and some food was sent to the train from a farm house which, happily for us, happened to be near. But there was not much of it and sometimes only snow water to drink. It became very wearisome, especially as we did not in the least know how long we might have to stay there ;—before the relief train reached us it had in some parts six feet of snow to go through. Such a snow storm had not been experienced for many years. Hundreds of sheep and cattle were frozen to death in the fields, and from numbers of different sources came harrowing tales of suffering and privation.

C. MILLCENT KNIGHT.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

*Report on the Administration of Criminal Justice in the Punjab during 1901.**—(Civil and Military Gazette Press, Lahore.)

THE litigiousness, noted below, in the Report on the Administration of *Civil* Justice in the Punjab is manifested, also as regards Criminal Justice in the number of complaints made and dismissed, and the fall in the percentage of persons convicted to those tried. In the Karnal District there was an abnormal increase in 1901 in the number of cases summarily dismissed. Mr. Maian, Registrar of the Chief Court, Punjab, rightly remarks that a free use of the power of summary dismissal is the most effective preventive of abuses noticed by the District Magistrate of Hoshiarpur, such as the bringing of complaints as a means of affording congenial amusement to the public or as a method of spending surplus funds. It is very doubtful whether such a remedy for an excess of petty cases should be allowed as the imposition of a heavier stamp duty on complaints. The difficulties of the poor in obtaining justice are already great enough. A remark which would rejoice a doctor's heart occurs to the effect that "the inhabitants of the hilly district of Kangra are above the petty litigiousness found among their neighbours of the plains." To Anglo-Indians it is, indeed, "*the hills from whence cometh my help*." That it is becoming increasingly realized that crime depends very largely on physical conditions, several remarks in the Report under notice demonstrate. The Judges attribute the decrease of dacoities in the year under report to improved agricultural conditions; and the Lieutenant-Governor's Report attributes the larger number of whippings in 1900 to the unusual amount of petty crime committed during the famine—a pathetic glimpse into the origin of crime which might a little modify the hard tone, so often noticeable in those whose bread has been sure, towards anyone who has ever been convicted. It is to be hoped that judgment may be tempered with mercy *pace* the Sessions Judge of Umballa, in any such reconsideration of the Whipping Act, as is hinted at in paragraph 13 of the Lieutenant-Governor's remarks. With reference to this, one hopes some especial enquiry may be made into the frequency of floggings in jails. In a well-

* A Criticism, with a special note on the flogging of Europeans in Jail.

managed prison, with a just and merciful staff of officials, whippings not ordered as part of the sentence should be rare. Men whose health is good should rarely, when sane commit offences for which they are liable to be flogged. Prison discipline is not meant to impair the health; hard work, plain but sufficient food, and the removal of outside temptation, such as drink or the poverty that drives to crimes against property, should furnish some of the conditions found so beneficial in Lunatic Asylums and Retreats for Inebriates and Charitable Penitentiaries. Where floggings inflicted for jail offences are frequent, one of three conditions must be present: (1) a corrupt inferior staff and an inefficient superior; (2) bad physical conditions predisposing men to crimes of impulse; (3) a preponderance among the prisoners, of men who ought rather to be in Lunatic Asylums. It is to be feared that the first and third of these conditions are by no means infrequent in India, although it is the boast of our Indian jail that the second is rare.

That our prisons are still, in some ways, in the Dark Ages is shown by a remark of the Lieutenant-Governor, to the effect that the practice of imposing fines, in order that prisoners should pay for their keep, exists in Mianwali and "ought to be discontinued." One is reminded of Bunyan and his experiences in "a certain place where was a den."

The desirability of retaining flogging as a punishment for Europeans in India is a question worthy of being raised. We have in this country, practically, none of Lombroso's criminal class among Europeans, and, in consequence, the disgrace of even simple imprisonment, is in itself a heavy punishment, to men all more or less educated. Climatic reasons also render, even simple imprisonment, and, still more, rigorous imprisonment a much greater punishment than it is at home or is to natives here. In addition, however, the frequency in India, of beating as a means of punishment, at the hands of the family renders it a less disgraceful punishment at the hands of the law. This view is borne out by the District Magistrate of Ferozepore, who mentions the case of a man who begged to be whipped instead of being fined: Satan's remark would not seem to apply to the Indian native—"skin for skin, all that a man hath will he give for his life."

It is much to be wished, also, that the administration of flogging to Europeans in jail should be specially investigated. No European can be found to undertake such work, and its fit executors are found in natives undergoing a long sentence, frequently for some brutal murder. The length of time required in Hospital after this punishment, shows how severe it is, and even a convict has a right to be considered in a

climate, where nervous shock is as detrimental to the system as India. Moreover, the evidence on which Europeans can be flogged in jail, is almost sure to be entirely native, and such a cruel and disgraceful punishment should not be inflicted on Europeans, on the mere evidence of native prisoners, and least of all in jails where one prisoner is for reasons of economy put in a position to control other prisoners and so to arouse their evil passions. The whole question of conviction of Europeans on purely native evidence, is one that should be frequently considered, when even a Government Report will state "Many sentences err on the side of leniency because the Tasildar is not convinced of the guilt of the accused." "In this country most complaints consist of a modicum of truth diluted with a quantity of fiction." "The high number of acquittals is due to the custom the police have of sending up a number of innocent persons with the real culprits." As a nation we are, proverbially, slow and behindhand: and if we are so in England, how much more so in India. The view of punishment as mainly vindictive is largely absolute, and as regards fallen human justice it ought to be so: the best and wisest psychologists and humanitarians regard it, in the ideal, as remedial to the individual and protective to society. The flogging of a European, especially in an Indian jail, can hardly be regarded as even a dignified vindication of abstract virtue, and still less as beneficial to society or to the individual.

Together with the satisfactory abatement noted in serious crime, there is an increase in offences against the Arms Act and in relation to marriage.

The increase in the former is probably due to a stricter enforcement of sections 19 and 20 on account of the prevalence of dacoity in 1899 and 1900. The increase in the latter is attributable to the tendency of men who, in a famine year, have got rid of their wives and children, to attempt to recover them when the stress is over.

Even Government Reports have their humours. The District Magistrate of Hoshiarpur would seem to be somewhat of a wag and his witticisms are evidently acceptable at headquarters. Such remarks as the following relieve the monotony of criminal statistics: "The criminal propensities of the population do not lie in the direction of violence, but rather in that of *peaceful* fraud." Again, "the waste of time, labour and material involved in needless and abortive trials is nothing else than lamentable. But the systematic manner in which Codes, elaborated by the highest legal talent, are utilised as playthings by a not very civilised peasantry certainly has its grotesque side."

Census of India, Volume 16. North-West Provinces and Oudh.

By R. Burn, I.C.S., Superintendent, Census Operations.

THE volumes of the Census of India for 1901 just published may be called the romance of statistics; and the pages which deal with the distribution and movement of population, the religion and the education of the people, as gathered from the details given in the Census tables, form most interesting reading.

The Report opens with a description of the method adopted in taking the Census. Operations commenced all but a year beforehand. Each district was divided into charges; 1,283 charges were formed with an average population of 37,172, the average area of a rural charge being 118 square miles. The charges were divided into blocks, each containing as a maximum 60 houses with a population of 300, that being the largest number that can be conveniently dealt with by a single enumerator. During August 1900 the training of charge superintendents began, in September, house numbering was commenced. On January 15th, 1901, the preliminary enumeration began and was checked before March. On the night of March 1st the enumerator went round his block and struck out all entries relating to absences and filled in a schedule for new-comers. The first totals to reach the Census Commissioner from these Provinces were those of the Rampur State which were ready at 9-20 A.M. on March 2nd: Mr. Gracey at Muzaffarnagar came in second, at 5 P.M., and Mr. T. Way at Sultanpur at 6 P.M.

In order to ascertain the hot weather population, a special Census was taken of the hill stations on September 7th, 1902. The arrangements received a test at Ajudhia which reflects great credit on Census officials great and small. "The Gobind Duadashi Festival then took place on March 2nd; for some days beforehand enumerators in all the adjacent districts were directed to enquire what persons were going to the fair, to mark their names in the schedules, and to give them tickets showing that they had been enumerated. Such persons on arrival at Ajudhia were not enumerated and were reckoned as present in the block in which they had been enumerated. "The morning after the fair," says Mr. Burn, "I found hardly a person in the crowds at the railway station who could not produce his enumeration ticket carefully tied up in his clothes or pagri."

This carefulness may have been due to the fear they would not be allowed to bathe without a ticket; and bathing in the Ghagra at Ajudhia is believed to be as efficacious as bathing in all the sacred places of India together. That the people, as a whole, are beginning to be less suspicious of our intentions

in the matter of the Census is shown by the fact that in 37 out of 48 districts no cases had to be instituted under the Census Act of 1900. Only 27 persons were prosecuted in all, of whom 21 were fined. The total number of staff employed was 238,466, of whom 111,741 were non-officials. A few complaints appeared on the subject of the employment of non-officials and most of them unpaid, and of the fact that Government servants received no extra pay for Census work. In answer, Mr. Burn points out that "the liability to assist in the Census is an implied condition of Government service, and is as binding as the liability to perform extra work in terms of special stress, such as famine or plague; while in the case of non-officials there is the same liability as to service as assessors or juries. If non-official agency were paid, the cost would be increased to a prohibitive amount and the work would not be so well done. As a rule the non-officials were persons in a superior station of life who would refuse money payments."

It is worthy of notice that the schedules issued to "Europeans" were on the whole the worst done. We may note that it is we who have placed the word in inverted commas. The standard of education of the Eurasian is in many cases lower than that of the native; and his discipline sometimes no better. An amusing difficulty took place at Dehra Dun where it was necessary to enumerate an assemblage of fakirs under a vow of silence. Mr. Burn is unfortunately silent as to the interesting nature of the arrangements made. It is reported from Almora that "the Rajis, a jungle tribe whose speech is described as like the twittering of birds, vanished into the forests and escaped enumeration."

The system adopted for abstraction and tabulation was the "ship" system first introduced by Von Mayr in the Bavarian Census of 1871. "Three colours were used, yellow for Hindus, red for Muhammadans, and blue for other religions: the slips were long for males and short for females; a complete rectangular slip was used for married persons, one corner being cut off for the unmarried and two corners for the widowed,"—a graphic delineation of the perfection of the married state!

Electricity was called in to aid in the tabulation of the Austrian Census of 1891, but the great variety of detail in India and the low standard of education in the rank and file of the Census official as well as the cost, prohibited its use in India. The net cost of the Census per 1,000 of population in the North-West Provinces was Rs. 5-3-5: the total cost in the British districts was Rs. 2,33,900 against Rs. 4,83,131 in 1891. Of this difference two lakhs are fairly attributable to the change to the slip system.

CULTIVATION.—The first chapter of the Report deals with the distribution of population, and includes a topographical description of the various natural districts of the Province. The total area is 66 million acres, of which 47 million are culturable, including both fallow and pasture land, both of which are absolutely necessary. The normal area actually cultivated varies between 53 per cent. in the Central India plateau and 80 per cent. in the Eastern Gangetic plain. The area double cropped is largest in the sub-Himalaya East where it is 32 per cent. This area is, however, fluctuating, depending a good deal on the character of the rains.

IRRIGATION.—About 7 per cent. of the total culturable area has been irrigated. In the Central India plateau, the tract, which has suffered most severely from famine, is at present under examination with a view to providing irrigation. The largest extensions made in the decade are on the Lower Ganges Canal where the distributaries have been increased by 325 miles. "An important part of the work has been the extension of drainage cuts to relieve waterlogged tracts which has had an appreciable effect on the health of the population especially in the Western Plain. The whole of Oudh and the Gorakhpur and Benares Divisions are entirely without Canal Irrigation, but irrigation from wells, rivers, wamps and lakes plays an important part." Out of 33 million acres, 10 million have been irrigated, of which 6 million are from wells, and nearly 2 million from canals.

RAILWAYS.—The total increase has been about 800 miles, from 2,699 to 3,496, and has occurred mainly on the Oudh and Rohilkhand and the Bengal North-Western Railways.

DENSITY OF POPULATION.—The total population of the provinces excluding Rampur and Tehli is 47,691,782. The average number of persons in British districts is 445 per square mile. Excluding the nineteen largest towns, it is 427, against 420 in 1891, 397 in 1881, and 373 in 1872. The number is lowest in the Himalaya West, only 95, while in the Ballia district in the extreme east there are 791 persons to a square mile. The floods of 1894 and the famine of 1896 and 1897 have reduced the density in the Central India plateau, the East Satpuras, and the Indo-Gangetic Plain East. The largest increase has occurred in Gorakhpur, from 428 in 1872 to 629.7. "This district has made progress which can be illustrated by the report of its Collector not a hundred years ago. He had to have fires lighted at night round the town to keep out tigers, and pits dug on the outskirts as a protection against wild elephants."

"A Court-house stands where the regiment stood
And the river's clean where the raw blood flowed
When the Widow gave the party."

As regards the density in cities, Cawnpore "with its narrow winding thoroughfares in which two carts can only pass in places" comes first with 37,538 persons per square mile, and Meerut next with 27,152. Benares third with 21,742. Allahabad is really as crowded as Cawnpore, the population being 100 and 101 per acre respectively. In these towns special measures may be required to meet the overcrowding: in Cawnpore the Municipal Board is about to drive new roads through the more crowded portions of the town. For census purposes a town was defined as any area in which the Municipal Act, or the Cantonment Act, was in force or any continuous group of houses containing not less than 5000 persons. The number of cities over 100,000 is 7 as in 1891, the seven being Lucknow, Benares, Cawnpore, Agra, Allahabad, Bareilly, and Meerut. Twelve more have been considered "cities" for census purposes, Mirzapur, Shahjahanpur, Moradabad, Fyzabad, Koil, Farukhabad, Saharanpur, Gorakhpur, Muttra, Jhansi, Jaunpur and Hathras. "These nineteen cities" to quote the Report, "illustrate completely the varieties of causes which tend to the growth and decay of large towns in India. Lucknow, Fyzabad, and Jaunpur owed their importance, originally, to their having been the seat of Muhammadan rulers, and they are now all three stationary or decaying, though all three are head-quarters of districts and Lucknow is still an industrial centre. Farukhabad was founded in the early part of the 18th century by a Pathan free-lance who raised himself to some position, and fifty years later it was of importance as a frontier station of the British with a large trade in the distribution of goods. The opening of through railways which passed it by has affected it injuriously. Benares, Allahabad, Bindhachal, (in Mirzapur), Ajudhia (in Fyzabad), and Muttra are all of importance owing to their religious sanctity, while Allahabad is also the capital of the provinces. The cities which have thriven, on account of their trade, may be divided into two classes, those in which the trade consists principally in the collection and distribution of produce and manufactured articles, such as Bareilly, Meerut, Shahjahanpur, Moradabad, Koil, Saharanpur, Gorakhpur and Jhansi, while the second class includes those in which manufactures have begun to take an important part, such as Cawnpore, Agra, Mirzapur and Hathras. Agra owes its origin, as a place of importance, to the fact that it was chosen by Akbar as a royal residence, but it would have shared the fate of many similar towns if it had not risen as a trading centre. Cawnpore and Hathras owe their positions entirely to the circumstances of British rule, while Mirzapur, which was at its prime during the cotton famine in the American

war, has suffered from the substitution of railways for carriage by water. The mere fact of being the centres of converging lines of railways has materially assisted in the development of Cawnpore, Agra, and Gorakhpur, and the new line from Fyzabad to Allahabad should improve the trade of the latter place. Urban growth will depend, in the future, in all probability, more on the current of trade than on religious sentiment or the accident of a place being selected as the seat of Government. The effect of famine on the Province has been very carefully worked out in the second Chapter of Report. To quote Mr. Burn's Summary :—

"In the Central India Plateau, the portion of Allahabad south of the Jamna, and the Mirzapur districts, a portion of Agra and Etawah and the Hardoi districts, the failure of the crops, owing to drought in 1895 and 1896 has been the great cause of distress, and would have been sufficient to seriously affect the population if the preceding seasons had been favourable ; but its effects were intensified by the fact that they were not, though excessive rainfall had not been sufficient in these places to materially increase the mortality or decrease the birth rate. The same remarks apply, though the results have been much milder, to the other districts of the central plain. On the other hand in the Eastern plain the predominant factor has been mortality due to disease caused by excessive rain, and a corresponding decline in the birth rate, while the damage to the crops due to the same cause has probably been greater than the losses through drought. The western plain did not suffer appreciably from either flood or famine, and a large part of it has materially prospered from the adversity of other regions."

The keynote of hope is sounded in the concluding sentences of this summary as to the results of the famine :—

"It has been reported from one district in which the famine was felt severely that the principal trace of it remaining is the readiness with which temporary wells are now made to irrigate spring crops on land on which, before 1897, nothing but autumn crops were grown, except perhaps in Bundelkhand the recovery has been rapid every where. The Romans once gave a triumph to the general who, though beaten in every battle, "had not despaired of the State," and while not belittling the unremitting toil and forethought of the officers of Government during the period of stress, those whose fortune it was to be near the ryot during the dark times of 1894-97 will not grudge him a palm."

The difficulty of obtaining vital statistics in India, with any accuracy, is great, and the census affords a good check on the methods in force. In rural areas, in the North-Western

Provinces, there is no compulsory registrations of vital statistics except in the case of persons subject to the provisions of the law for the prevention of infanticide. The total number of persons proclaimed under this law was 44 173 on April 1st 1901, and these were mostly in the Agra Division. Was it in irony that this date was chosen as the nominal birthday of a clan given to infanticide? The rapidly decreasing birth-rate in England would seem to point the lesson that conduct that interferes with the birth-rate is the worst of folly. In urban areas there have been municipal rules for the registration of births, marriages, and deaths in all municipalities since 1892. Both the head of the family, the sweeper of the house and the police chaukidar, in whose circle a birth or death occurs, are bound to report it, the two former to the Municipality, the last to the Police Station. A few places have appointed retired medical officers as registrars and there are special health officers in one or two of the large towns. Reckoning by the census check, the deficiency in registration is only between 288,000 and 530,000; the conclusion Mr. Burn draws is that "in spite of the unfavourable conditions of the decade, the reporting of total statistics has been fairly satisfactory, and the deficiency unaccounted for must be spread over the four black years 1894—1897.

The chapter on Religion notes that 85 per cent. of the population are Hindus, 14 per cent. Masalmans, and the rest (6 per cent.) are either Sikhs, Jains, Buddhists, Parsis, Christians, Jews, Aryas or Brahmos. The Masalman population is increasing at a greater rate than the Hindu, the Masalmans being more fertile than the Hindus, and living longer. These two facts are put down to the reason that the Masalmans are better off, live on a more liberal diet, abound in the prosperous Meerut division, and are not so addicted to the use of drugs. Moreover the marriage age is greater in the case of Masalman. With Hindus too, the unfit girls are more frequently married than in the case of Masalmans, and the girls are more often neglected and even got rid of. A large increase occurred in the number of Native Christians and of Aryas, largely due to conversions from Hinduism, the number of converts from Islam being infinitesimal. Brahmos have increased very slightly and are nearly all Bengalis as is natural, women converts are more commonly Christian, than Arya Somaj. The most careful enquiry has failed to discover any extensive proselytism in recent times from Hinduism to Islam, though isolated instances certainly occur, both by genuine conversion and in the case of men and women who have lost caste; and it is not uncommon for illegitimate children of Hindus, especially by Muhammadan women, to be brought up as Masalman.

There are only 788 Buddhists in 1901 as compared with 1,387 in 1891, more than half of these are Burmese prisoners and 235 are Tibetans in the Kumaon District, who are gradually becoming Hinduised.

Many pages are devoted to a summary of the main characteristics of the various creeds; some of Mr. Burn's ideas and experiences are very interesting; a few theses he sets out to prove is that we must judge a religion far more by its actual working than by its theoretical standards. With regard to the practice of the Musalmans in the North-Western Province, Mr. Burn writes: "In regard to prayer the ignorance of the ordinary man is a scandalous blot, and the few who do repeat the creed on a regular basis are by a Musalman will be absent from prayers on the Id-uz zoha. The obligatory five prayers a day and on Friday morning are not performed by the majority, but ignorance of the words is accountable for this. Even on the Id festivals, the majority of those present do not recite the movements of the prayer. The observance of the fast is much more lax amongst the masses than amongst the few individuals who are orthodox. In the giving of alms the Musalmans are behind the Hindus, and in fact, charity is not so much encouraged as it is amongst the Hindus. A man is not more than at present seen exists to be taken up or made suckle it for charity." "Some are ignorant of God's name and those who do not are regarded to the latter, a belief is strongly held by the masses that if the sinner is forgiven by the person who sins will not tell very strongly against Islam and Hinduism. The Census Report, but an interesting reading. With regard to Mr. Burn notes,

"The Customs Rules of the Government have been issued to the effect that converts are then and there to be taken care of, the belief in spirits, and the fact that the converts who still practise their old religion are still resorted to in secret. It is one of the numerous conversions somewhat of the nature of those of Hindus in Eastern Bengal to Islam, with the exception that greater care is taken to instruct and look after the spiritual welfare problem

for the future. As long as the number of converts in a mission does not exceed what can be looked after by the more highly educated and responsible pastors, no changes in doctrine are to be expected; but if conversions increase, and especially if the higher castes and more educated Hindus are attracted, there seems a likelihood that the dogmas of Western Christianity will undergo some modifications; and that India will present varieties of belief parallel to the so-called heresies of the first few centuries of our era." Indeed the illustration of the development of Christianity in Europe, by the phenomena observable in modern mission work, is a theme that might be worked up to the advantage of Church history, and of missionary methods alike.

With regard to the distribution of Christians by race and denomination, the Anglican Communion numbers far the most of Europeans and Eurasians. 18,060 Europeans out of 28,410 and 2,969 Eurasians out of 5,218; whereas of Native Christians, the Anglican Communion numbers 7,039, the Roman Catholic 3,232, while the Methodists come first with 50,213, the total being 68,841.

An interesting, suggestive, and in some ways amusing table appears on page 104, which was furnished by a Muhammadan, comparing the censure attached to various wrong acts according to the orthodoxy of various classes, with the censure attached to them by the official creed and by educated English people. We are inclined to quarrel with one or two of the conclusions, more especially those under the heading "English educated." Does "neglecting fasts" rank as 20 where "neglecting prayers" only ranks as 10? And does "eating pork" rank as 99 in a 100 among us? Naturally the compiler of this table is a better judge of Musalman than of English morals, but it is well sometimes to "see ourselves as others see us."

Statistics show that the proportion of women is rising, though only in the extreme East and the North East and the North-West does it exceed that of the men. "There is no indication, from the statistics available, that infanticide can affect to any large extent the proportion of the sexes in the population as a whole. The higher the caste the lower the proportion of women." As the higher castes are usually of the better races, this tallies with the observation that the lower the form of life, the higher is the rate of reproduction.

The remarriage of widows is stated by Mr. Buen to occur among the lower castes, though the full marriage ceremony cannot be performed more than once for the same woman. The Kurmis are an example of a caste which is trying to rise in the social scale and so is stopping the re-marriage of widows.

Divorce among the Hindus, as a rule, allows the husband to marry again. Among Muhammadans in the N.-W. P. it is most exceptional. "In practice it is made almost impossible, by the enormous dowers promised at marriage which have to be paid if a woman is divorced: in consequence of a lawsuit in which this appeared a hardship, opinions were recently collected as to the advisability of allowing courts the power to reduce a promised dowry when excessive. The unanimity with which the proposal was condemned by all classes of Muhammadans showed that the restriction on divorce was recognised as beneficial. It is significant that "this sentiment contrasts strongly with the view held in some western countries." Mr. Buen quotes Professor Letonenean's "Evolution of Marriage" to the effect that it is probable, that a future more or less distant, will inaugurate the régime of monogamic unions, freely contracted, and at need, freely dissolved by simple mutual consent." Mr. Buen concludes that "in India, at any rate that future is certainly far distant." If so, India can give points to several "Christian" nations.

As regards education, 1,422,924 males and 55,941 females were returned as literate compared with 1,257,149 males and 38,468 females in 1891. Out of 10,000 males 578 can read and write, while out of 10,000 females only 24 are literate. Of religions, 41 per cent. of Christians are literate, 24 per cent. of Aryas, of Jains 22 per cent., while among Hindus and Musalmans the proportion is less than three per cent. Taking all religions together 24 persons out of 10,000 can read and write English. As far as females are concerned, English education is practically non-existent for all but Christians. Literate Kayasthas number 11 per cent. of the total number of persons who can read and write, and this caste includes over one-fifth of the total number of literate females. "One of the things which strikes a European most about the literate native is the fact that he seems to read so little. The two classes of literature most favoured in these provinces, apart from schoolbooks and keys, are religious works (often in poetry) and erotic novels. The great majority of natives learn to read and write simply to be able to compose and read letters and keep accounts. A large proportion leave school as soon as they are able to compose a more or less ungrammatical telegram." One cause adduced is that 25 per cent. of the total are castes that are untouchable, and boys of these castes would not be admitted into most schools. Female education is chiefly in the hands of Missionaries.

The Chapter on Infirmities shows that between 1891 and 1901 there was a decrease in the number of persons afflicted

with blindness, leprosy, and congenital deaf-mutism. This is attributed to the fact that such persons are usually beggars, and that the period of stress through which the provinces has passed must have told especially on these. Insane persons number 1·44 per 10,000. This proportion is far below that in Europe, which may largely be due to the greater readiness to have lunatics certified in Europe. The number of non-violent cases concerned must be great, especially among the upper class women.

Chapters on Caste and Occupation end the first volume, while the second volume is taken up with Imperial Tables, the whole forming the most up-to-date material for estimating the present condition of what are more properly known now as the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

Triennial Reports of the Hospitals and Charitable Institutions of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. (1902.) By Col. HUTCHESON, I.M.S., Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals. United Provinces and of the Punjab, by Col. A. SCOTT REID, I.M.S., Inspector-General of Civil Hospital, Punjab.

THERE has been a great apparent increase in the number of Hospitals and Dispensaries in Agra and Oudh, owing to the inclusion for the first time of the Railway, Police, Forest and private dispensaries. The actual increase of Government medical institutions has been 13 only. The total number of patients both indoor and outdoor treated in the dispensaries was 3,717,285. In Bengal the number for the same year (1901) was 3,991,443. Agra showed a still larger number in 1899, but plague scares and plague preventive measures affected the attendance in 1900-1901. Confidence is however becoming re-established. There has been a notable increase in Allahabad. The percentage of deaths in Hospital was 5·33 in 1901. The death-rate in Bengal is considerably higher, being 15·7 in Calcutta Medical Institutions (excluding eye-cases) in 1901, and 10·67 in Bengal in general in the same year. The corresponding Bengal Report alludes to the large number of patients admitted moribund in that Province, and especially in centres of pilgrimage and in Calcutta. The Inspector-General for the United Provinces very justly remarks that "skill and proficiency in operative surgery are not in any special way indicated by any merely numerical sign." There is a certain amount of danger in the present method of tabulating medical officers according to the number of selected operations performed, especially as the results are not taken into account in this table. We suspect that the fallacy of statistics is more dangerous in medical than in most other matters. The

verdict as to the success of the operation is given in each case by the operator; and often it is the wiser Surgeon who will say "relieved" where the inferior or junior will write "cured." Statistics cannot deal with the last of the three ideals of the medical profession, as given tersely in the sentence, "guérir quelquefois : soulager fréquemment : consoler toujours." It is probably as much to the two last as to the first that the growing popularity of Hospitals is due, particularly amongst Indian women. The number of successful cataract extractions was 4,995 against 2,132 in Bengal and 604 in Calcutta. The Punjab comes first in this matter with 5,204 successful operations on cataract. There is much the most cordial appreciation of women's medical work, more particularly in Missionary Institutions, in the Punjab report, "The Amritsar Lying-in Mission Hospital does excellent work among the women of that city." There are 24 Missionary Institutions doing good work, especially in the treatment of women, and Sir Charles Rivaz gladly welcomes them as a valuable adjunct to the institutions supported from public funds. Col. Hutcheson remarks, in the Agra Report, that "it has been considered desirable to extend the system of private visits by Lady Doctors as far as practicable without interfering with ordinary Hospital duty." It should be remembered, to the credit of the Lady Doctors, that such work, usually in airless dirty bhusties, is much more trying than in a well-ordered Hospital.

Season and Crop Report of Bengal, 1901-1902.

THE early cessation of the rains and the drought throughout the cold weather caused wide-spread injury to crops, which was most marked in the North Ganges districts of the Patna Division. The area sown with autumn crops was below the normal owing to the scanty rainfall in the sowing season, thus reducing the average outturn to 90 per cent. of a normal crop. The jute crop was a full one, but indigo in Bihar gave only 80 per cent. outturn. The early cessation of the rains seriously damaged the winter rice crop everywhere except in Eastern Bengal. The yield in the whole Province was estimated at 75 per cent. of a normal crop. The summer crops also were only 75 per cent. as compared with 80 per cent. in the preceding year. The failure was most marked in the unirrigated districts of the Patna Division where the yield varied from 39 per cent. in Champaran to 65 per cent. in the Patna district. The total area cultivated in all the *rabi* crops was 555,000 acres less than in preceding year. The *boro* or summer rice crop and sugarcane were the only crops which prospered.

Triennial Report on Vaccination in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, 1899-1902.

THIS Report possesses two advantages over the corresponding Report for Bengal; one is a map of the Provinces, and the other is the use of red as well as black ink in the diagram showing the death-rate from small-pox in comparison with the proportion of the population protected by vaccination. In the Agra table one can see at a glance that the death-rate was abnormally high in Jalaun and Par-tabghar, and at another glance that these two places are not near enough for there to be any probability of infection from proximity. The Bengal table is much more confusing, and the Agra method might well be adopted in the next Report.

The average cost of each successful vaccination was one anna three pies in Agra, and the same in Bengal—a sum which Major White, the Sanitary Commissioner, well remarks, would cause surprise to many English municipalities. The average number of operations performed by each vaccinator is over 1,600 in Agra, which is considerably over the Bengal average. The vaccinator is not a highly-educated man, is paid in Agra from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10, and beyond vaccination duties has to attend fairs, and do cholera and plague duty. The prevalence of plague in Bengal probably accounts for its inferiority to Agra in vaccination numbers on this occasion. Only 981 deaths took place from small-pox in the North-West Provinces in 1901, whereas in Bengal in 1901, 25,302 occurred, and in 1902—48,207. The Report of the Sanitary Commissioner for Bengal regards the inadequacy of the present supply of lymph as seriously interfering with the work of his department, and also refers to the poor pay of the vaccinators as hindering success. They are not Government servants and so are not recognized by the people and are looked upon with disfavour. They depend for their living on the fees which they get from the people, which, unfortunately, they are frequently unable to realise. There is no law to enforce these fees, so they have to depend on the good graces of the village panchayets or the police, but the people have come to know that the only course left to the vaccinator is to institute a civil suit which he will not care to do because of the worry and expense of it. The result is that many trained good vaccinators throw up their appointment in disgust, and it is difficult to replace them. Many places are therefore left unprotected, and on the outbreak of small-pox it plays havoc as it did last year. The subordinate inspecting staff are recruited from the vaccination staff, and cannot be expected to exercise any great influence on the people, on which alone, under

the present optional system, the success of vaccination depends. Major Dyson recommends that Bengal should follow the example of Agra by introducing Government paid vaccinators and reducing the number of the subordinate inspecting staff. We are glad to read that Capt. Clemesha, I. M. S., Deputy Sanitary Commissioner, Northern Bengal Circle, had asked for permission to visit the United Provinces to observe the working of their evidently superior plan.

Triennial Report on the Administration of the Registration Department in Bengal, 1902.

WHERE an unkind Government has put a stern maximum limit of ten pages, it is well that the Inspector-General of Registration, Bengal, has made use of the graphic method and illustrated the incidence of registration in Bengal by a map. A satisfactory increase is noted, that for 1901-1902 being 9·3 per cent. of the figure for 1900-1901, while that for 1900-1901 was 10·7 per cent. of the figure for the preceding year. The increase in Mymensingh is ascribed in part to the treatment of Zar-i-peshgi deeds as leases instead of mortgages. A large number was registered in 1901-1902 owing to the partial failure of crops. In Backergunge, the increase is ascribed to the larger familiarity of the people with the provisions of the Bengal Tenancy Act, and the commencement of the General Survey and Settlement of the district. The increase in Jessore is ascribed by the Registrar partly to the fact that on account of drought, low lands under water dried up, and *rayats* took settlement of them for cultivation and partly to the circumstance that on account of the high prices of grains, people borrowed money to meet their pecuniary difficulties by leasing their lands, temporarily, to money-lenders with the verbal contract that the latter would release the land when the loan was repaid. It is reported that the money-lenders devised the scheme to avoid litigation for the recovery of the loans.

It is reported from Nadia that indigo planters have been abandoning indigo cultivation and granting term leases to their *rayats* for other cultivation. These transactions indicate a decline in the trade in natural indigo owing to the competition of synthetic indigo. Mr. T. K. Ghose quotes the remarks of the Director-General of Statistics, Mr. J. E. O'Connor, C.I.E., to the effect that "the cultivation of indigo in Lower Bengal has contracted almost to the vanishing point, whereas in Bihar the planters are applying scientific methods to the reduction of cost and the increase of yield, and insuring themselves against ultimate failure with indigo by the cultivation of other remunerative crops."

Registrations in Calcutta have shown a steady improvement. The Registrar, Mr. Behari Lal Chunder, assigns several causes, the steady and higher rate of exchange, the depressed condition of tea and indigo, and the high price of food-grains, the high price of English coal, leading to increase of documents relating to coal lands, the erection of new buildings, and the growing tendency of manufacturers to register trademarks, or rather declarations as to trade marks.

During the last two years there has been a material reduction in the number of prosecutions under the Act. Sir W. Herschell's system of finger-prints for the identification of registrants has had a deterrent effect on false personation. Convictions have been based on the identity of thumb-impressions.

Report on the Administration of Civil Justice in the Punjab and its Dependencies, 1901.

THE bearing of public health on litigation is not at first sight clear to either the doctor or the lawyer. It is therefore interesting in the Report under review to note that the very considerable increase in institutions in 1901 is attributed not only to the good spring harvest but to the return of good public health after a particularly unhealthy and malarious autumn. On the other hand the prevalence of plague in the Sialkot district influenced the institution of suits adversely.

His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab animadverts on the low value of the subject matter for which many suits are instituted. The money-lenders of Muzaffargarh resort to the Courts even for petty debts of between one and ten rupees. Thirty-six per cent. of the cases in this District did not exceed Rs. 10 in value.

The work of the Courts in executing decrees is still unsatisfactory. It is justly remarked that 'where the realisations do not on an average much more than cover the cost of suing there is a practical failure of justice. The Judges report that the majority of judicial officers do not devote to execution work the amount of time and attention which it demands. The matter is to be more fully reported on next year, and the cases of officers inattentive to this work are to be specially brought to notice.

As regards the work of Assistant Commissioners, the Divisional Judge of Rawalpindi remarks that the orders recently passed for the submission of monthly statements showing the civil case work done, has acted beneficially on these officers. On the other hand the danger of exacting the disposal of large numbers of cases is pointed out, for where a Karnal Munsif and another in Mianwali disposed of over 3,000 cases each, it

is open to question if justice can really have been done. In Jullunder the District Judge came across a case for the restoration of a wife, in which a Munsif had issued a commission for local inquiry to an ordinary Mukhtar with the naive remark that "the case was not satisfactorily proved by either party." The Registrar of the Chief Court, Punjab, remarks that "this Munsif would seem to have very vague ideas as to the meaning of the burden of proof, and correspondingly clear ideas as to the advisability of shifting the burden of decision on to shoulders other than his own." The question of increasing the establishments of extra Assistant Commissioners, Munsifs, and Tahsildars, and of raising their pay is now under consideration.

Attention is called to the long and increasing duration of cases, the average for contested cases being 47 as against 42 in 1899, and for uncontested cases 28 against 24. The average duration of appeals fell from 99 to 93 in courts subordinate to the Chief Court, the percentage of appeals also fell, and in 56.5 per cent. of appeals the order of the lower Court was upheld. In the Chief Court also the appeals fell, and also the average duration, but the decision of the lower Court was upheld in only 39 per cent. of the cases.

With a view to hastening the disposal of civil cases in the Punjab Courts considerable changes have been made during 1901 and 1902. The Civil Courts have been partially relieved from criminal work by the withdrawal from the District Judge of Lahore of his criminal appellate powers. The District Judges of Delhi, Ambala, Ludhiana, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, Ferozepore, Lahore, Amritsar and Rawalpindi are employed exclusively on civil work. The Registrar ends the Report of 1901 by expressing a hope of a substantial improvement in the duration of civil suits.

The difficulties of justice in this country are illustrated by the remarks on thumb impressions. The bad quality of the ink used has vitiated many of the results. At the same time the process has been found most useful, a case of false personation of a witness having been discovered in Rawalpindi by means of the thumb mark on the back of a summons. The employment in Ambala and Sialkot of intelligent process-servers with apparatus for taking thumb impressions on summonses has proved satisfactory. The use of aniline or blue black writing ink is recommended to obviate forgery and mistakes.

An interesting note occurs on the diminution in matrimonial suits. The Divisional Judge of Hoshiarpur attributes almost all these suits to the conflict between one law and the local custom. He puts down their diminution to the increasingly unsympathetic attitude of our courts towards them. The

registration of marriages is to a certain extent a remedy ; but it is well remarked by the Additional District Judge of Muzaffargarh that "the real remedy for preventing the evil lies in the improvement of the social customs and habits of the people." An older authority has it that these and kindred troubles proceed "out of the heart."

The Cotton Industry of India and the Cotton Duties. (Bombay Commercial Press.)

THE first impression given by this paper is that of the extreme difficulty of finding out who wrote it. Even the Editor of the *Times of India*, who furnishes an introduction, has not brought to bear on it his technical knowledge of editing. Some research, however, makes the discovery that the author is Mr. B. J. Padshah ; but in view of the fact that the paper "is to be widely circulated among English politicians, it seems a mistake not to have stated more definitely the claims of Mr. Padshah to be considered an authority. The paper is founded on an enquiry into the condition of the Cotton Mill Industry of India set on foot by Mr. Jamsetjee N. Tata with the co-operation of the Bombay Mill-owners' Association. In the introduction the Editor of the *Times of India* states that the object of the paper is to produce a renewed discussion of "a signal injustice, the continued existence of which the British Parliament seems only too anxious to forget." The injustice referred to is, of course, the imposition of an excise duty by India on her own cotton manufactures in deference to the representations of Lancashire mill-owners. The Editor of the *Times of India* is evidently more sanguine of a favourable result to renewed discussion of this point than is the Bombay Mill-owners' Association. In 1901 this Association appealed to the Bombay Government to abolish these excise duties, and received so explicit and final a statement of the intention of the Government to retain the Import and Excise duties conjointly as "a permanent part of the fiscal arrangements of India" that the Association did not see its way to support the Upper India Chamber of Commerce when it suggested a joint memorial to the Government of India on the subject later in the same year.

Mr. Tata and Mr. Padshah are, however, quite right in insisting that a statistical study of the effect of the cotton duties on the Mill Industry is a necessary preliminary to any reintroduction of the matter into Parliament. The points especially dwelt on in the enquiry were (a) the profits of spinning, (b) the profits of weaving, and (c) the abatement of profits, if any, consequent on the Cotton Duties Legislation of 1896. 58 mills were examined, over a period of ten years, the decade being

divided evenly by the date of the Cotton Duties. Mr. Padshah's figures seem to "prove the profits of the Mill Industry are fluctuating, and on an average of ten years not larger than enough to tempt capital: the profits of spinning are more fluctuating and smaller than those of weaving but not so much smaller, but that the addition of a pie per lb. in the price of yarn may equalise the profits; that both spinning and weaving profits have fallen since 1896, that the fall in spinning profits is due to increased cost of production, from the duty as well as other items, the fall in weaving profits being in addition traceable to the arrest of demand for cloth owing to the famine." Both Mr. Padshah and his expert critic, Mr. J. H. Fisher (Manchester), agree that the burden of the cotton duties is only in part if at all, and then only very slowly, transferable from the producer to the consumer. Mr. Fisher very justly points out that other causes than the imposition of the duties may be responsible for the vanishing profits, such for instance as over-production and famine. "The profitable nature of weaving prior to 1895 encouraged a great increase in the number of looms, and the production of cloth has probably been greater than the Home demand." Three practical points are raised in the paper, (a) the proper allowance for depreciation, both Mr. J. H. Fisher and the Editor of the *Times of India* holding that it should be nearer ten per cent. than four; (b) the just commission of a mill-agent; Mr. Padshah in an appendix gives it as six per cent. on the net profit (including interest) plus Rs. 6,000 per annum per mill as a fixed item. This is about sixty per cent. of the average commission actually paid; (c) the form of balance sheet advisable in order to give a clear view of the conditions, remembering that "a diminution of *one pie a day* in the cost of production per spindle makes an addition of 3 to 4 per cent. to the profits; that profits depend on the 'stoppage of leakages' that mill-agents can only efficiently check these leakages by comparisons of balance sheets intelligently drawn up not only of the same mill in successive years but of different mills in the same year."

Whatever view the reader may take of the Excise Duty on Cotton, nothing but good can come of such a painstaking enquiry, and such a scientific method as that adopted by Mr. Padshah in the memorandum under discussion. The days are past when natural laws might be evolved from one's inner consciousness as the German is said to have done when required to give a description of the camel: the Frenchman who studies at a Zoological Garden, or the Englishman who goes out prepared to shoot anything and everything is an example of the modern method, nothing if not practical.

Thirty-Fourth Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh for 1901. And Seventh Report of the Sanitary Engineer.

THIS Report deals in its fifth section with the results of the Census, so far as they were then obtainable. During the decade, emigration increased by 250,000 and immigration decreased by 122,000. This change as well as the increased death-rate through famine and malaria are the causes of the decrease in population in the famine districts of 786,648. That the Provinces are recovering is shown by the fact that the birth-rate in 1901 was 41·35 compared with 40·34 in 1900, and 38·45 taking the mean of the previous five years. The death-rate is decreasing, being 30·3 in 1901 against 31·13 in 1900 and 33·09 in the previous five years. Of towns, Benares shows the highest death-rate, no doubt partially for religious reasons—though the Sanitary Commissioner attributes it to the prevalence of plague. Cawnpore, like all manufacturing towns, suffers from high infant mortality (450 per 1,000 children born) owing to the employment of female labour. The general death-rate, as usual, was highest in October and lowest in February; this corresponds with the mortality from fever. The superior education of the Christian population accounts for the fact that the mortality among them was 8·82 against 28·81 among Muhammadans and 30·65 among Hindus.

The section which deals with diseases gives a favourable report on the efficiency of using Permanganate of Potassium in wells. The appointment of a couple of men of either caste to draw water for all from an uninfected well, in cases of an epidemic of cholera, has proved of undoubted benefit. The well selected is the one showing fewest cases in its proximity, and is treated with Potassium Permanganate previous to use. The death-rate from cholera was 1·13 per 1,000 as against 1·81 in the preceding year. The greatest number of deaths was in Lucknow, the rate being 4·5. Naini Tal showed the highest death-rate from fever, though, whether in consequence, partially, of its being a Sanitarium is not stated. The Sanitary Commissioner, Major Chaytor White, who holds the Diploma of Public Health of the University of Cambridge, rightly urges that money will be better spent in improving surface drainage and filling in tanks and depressions, than in organizing "mosquito brigades." It is improved drainage rather than the use of quinine or the extirpation of the mosquito that has so largely rid Europe of malaria. The total of five grain packets of quinine, was nearly five times that of the preceding year, and more than three-quarters of the total were sold by post-offices. The price of the packet has been reduced from 3 to 2 pies. Suicides number 662 men and 1,991 women, a slight decrease,

Indian marriage conditions easily explain the disproportionate number of female suicides. The mortality from wounds and accidents was 15,972, that from snakes and wild beasts 6,244. As regards plague, the system of transmitting the names of travellers from infected areas on to the district officials, has proved valuable in detecting imported cases.'

Civil Sanitary Works are making progress. Benares leads the way as regards number of gallons of water per head, 12'21 daily being the average during the year. Dibdin contact filters (bacterial) were in use except during the rains when they were closed up. The Report states that the effluent is exceedingly good from a primary filter alone. It is hoped to introduce more installations with septic tank and contact beds. These are hoped for also in Lucknow, where much of the sewage at present finds its way into the river. At Agra, the enteric germ was found in some samples of Jumna water. When the water is low, it is apt to be contaminated by a village a mile further up than the intake. The Commissioner of Agra was asked to consult the Irrigation Department as to the feasibility of building a protecting spur to deviate the water from under the village. At Mussorie the bacterial examination of the water has been satisfactory. No drains were flushed but water was supplied to the shoot constructed in 1898 for the disposal of night-soil, which has worked since then without a hitch. At Naini Tal also the bacterial examination for cholera and enteric germs was negative. A hope is expressed of being able to train Sanitary Inspectors at Agra, as is now done in Madras and Bombay—it may be asked why not also in Calcutta?

Report of the Administration of the Salt Department, 1901-1902.
Bengal Secretariat Press.

THE Collector of Customs, Calcutta, reports that the importations for the year and the quantity of salt bonded were the highest on record. Steamers have almost entirely superseded sailing ships, particularly, in the salt trade; and as it is always necessary for a steamer to obtain a quick despatch, a very large proportion of the salt imported was delivered into bond. In consequence the accommodation at both the *Sulkea* and *Kidderpore Golas* was rapidly filled up. Proposals to provide increased storage at *Sulkea* has been submitted to the Board.

The major portion of the salt imported by sea still comes from the United Kingdom, though the imports from Aden and the Red Sea are increasing rapidly—since these salts escape the Canal dues, they compete favourably with European salt. It is doubted if Port Said, for the same reason, will be able to compete with the Red Sea and Aden salt.

Important pending questions are the wastage allowance to be permitted on salt delivered from inland warehouses, and the revision of the relations between the District Officers and the Salt Staff working in these districts, with the object of exercising a closer control.

The quantity of salt conveyed by rail has increased by 16.62 per cent. The opening of a pass-station at Shalimar last year, making it possible to convey salt to Orissa by the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, will increase the tendency to prefer carriage by rail.

There was no manufacture of salt during the year on the Chilka Lake in Orissa. The largely-increased sales were due to the reduction of the wholesale price to half an anna a maund, which was done with the object of effecting an early clearance of the large stock in hand.

The consumption of salt per head in the Saliferous tracts in which illicit manufacture is easy has been greater than elsewhere, instead of less as might easily have been the case. The number of cases in which salt was attached, released, and confiscated during the year under review were 929, 12, and 908 respectively as against 1,074, 2, and 968 in the previous year. The number of seizures and unsuccessful house-searches were 1,491 and 92 respectively, as against 794 and 17 in the previous year. In the districts of Balasore and Cuttack the owners of the houses are said to have heard that the search was intended, and to have destroyed all illicit plant. Owing to the failure of the police to attend house searches, about 50 cases in the 24-Parganas and 42 cases in Midnapore broke down. In consequence of this, Government has sanctioned the appointment of nine special police head constables in Midnapore. Salt officers detected 39 opium cases, as against 37 last year.

There was an increase in financial results of Rs. 5,83,954 in the receipts, and of Rs. 42,099 in the charges, giving a net revenue of Rs. 2,55,21,299 an excess of 2.2 per cent. on the previous year.

Fifth Triennial Report of Vaccination in Bengal during 1899-1902: by Major H. J. Dyson, I M.S., F.R.C.S., Sanitary Commissioner for Bengal. Bengal Secretariat Press.

MAJOR Dyson notices that his Department has had to work under very great disadvantages, as several appointments were vacant during the period under review, and many officers were employed on plague or other special work which hindered the vaccination inspection work.

There has been an increase of 139,517 and 75,219 operations respectively, in rural areas and mofussil municipalities

and dispensaries as compared with 1896-99. These figures show steady and gradual progress of vaccination in the Province, which would have been much greater but for the epidemic of plague. Each vaccinator did between 600 and 1,000 cases. The Government Resolution of 1900-1901 has stirred up Civil Surgeons and Magistrates to greater activity in the matter, with striking results, especially in Midnapore and Mymensing. During 1901-1902, 234 out of every 1,000 infants, were vaccinated. In Darjeeling, Malda, Bhagalpur and Ranchi, where there is no great opposition, more than half the available infant population has been vaccinated. Shahabad, Hooghly, Singhbhum, Orissa, Cuttack and Mazaffarpur have bad results. Major Crawford attributes this to the fact that the vaccinators find it difficult to get hold of infants under a year (for whom the statistics are given), whereas they easily see children over that age and persuade the parents to allow the operation. The Civil Surgeon of Hooghly, Major Crawford, I.M.S., does not advocate compulsory vaccination, partly because of the insufficiency of the staff available, except in areas where small-pox was prevalent, and during its prevalence, Major Dyson believes that much can be done by local influence and this is probably true.

The total number of re-vaccinations was 83,400, a considerable increase, chiefly due to the greater prevalence of small-pox. The percentage of successful cases was 61·14 "a high rate due to the fact that the operations were performed on adults who had been vaccinated in infancy, and in whom the effect of primary vaccination had been destroyed."

The total average cost of vaccination in Bengal for the three years was Rs. 1,86,782 against Rs. 1,87,187 of the preceding three years. The cost of each successful vaccination was 1 anna 3 pie.

The Fauna of British India.—Rhynchota Vol. I (Heteroptera): by W. L. Distant. Thacker, Spink and Co. (Taylor and Francis, London.)

THE Editor of the series in question (Mr. W. T. Blanford) prefaces Mr. Distant's book with the significant remark that "the slow progress hitherto made with the Indian Invertebrata" compared with the volumes on the Vertebrata which were issued in the years 1888-1898 "has been caused by the difficulty of obtaining the assistance of authors who, besides, possessing the necessary knowledge are able to give the time, and have also access to the principal collections and libraries." Great indeed are the difficulties of all scientific work in India, where frequently the only man with any scientific training is the Civil Surgeon or the Engineer. We congratulate the

Editor therefore on his announcement of the approaching volumes on Ants by Col. C. Bingham, on Longicorn Coleoptera by Mr. C. J. Gahan, and on Land-Mollusca; and also most heartily on the present volume, by one of the principal living authorities on the subject of the Rhynchota or Bugs. The author has kept in view the object of facilitating the identification of specimens by Government officers, planters, and in fact "non-entomological" readers. These latter will find a careful account of the anatomy of the insect in the introduction, followed by a careful classification easy to follow when the anatomy has been mastered. Some of the Rhynchota are rapacious in their habits, others are plant-feeders; when injurious, "the injuries they cause are sometimes so small as to be overlooked, and are of a cumulative rather than of an immediate nature. But the Rhynchota are also at times beneficent agents—pollination in the "Mora" tree is entirely dependent on the visits of *Cantao Ocellatus*, while *Aspongopus nigriventris* fulfils a similarly important function to the Sago palm. A vast opportunity for bionomic observation appertains to the study of these insects, and is especially worthy the attention of a Government entomologist."

CRITICAL NOTICES.

International Catalogue of Scientific Literature. First Annual Issue. D. Chemistry, Part I. M. Botany, Part I. Published for the International Council by the Royal Society of London.

WE have much pleasure in drawing the attention of literary and scientific institutions in India to the first annual issue of the *International Catalogue of Scientific Literature*.

The catalogue is intended to provide scientific workers with a complete index of current scientific literature, and it is international, in that each catalogue contains schedules and indexes in four languages—English, French, German, and Italian—as well as an Authors' Catalogue and a Subject Catalogue.

This annual catalogue will be invaluable to students who desire to ascertain the last word that has been said upon the particular subject of investigation in which they are interested.

Part I of the Chemistry Catalogue contains, for example, not only the titles and publishers' names of all works dealing with Chemistry published during 1901, whether systematic treatises, or works relating to special aspects of the subject, such as the history or philosophy of chemistry, but also the names and mode of publication of special papers dealing with specific subjects of research in the whole field of pure and applied chemistry. For instance, under "Argon," one finds the titles of four papers published in 1901, two of which are English, one French, and one German. Under "Tea" is given the titles of two German papers published in 1901 on tea culture, one of which discusses the practicability of its introduction into German colonies.

The fact that each of the two catalogues before us—Chemistry, Part I, and Botany, Part I—contains about 400 pages, shows that they are intended to be exhaustive. All libraries and institutions interested in the advancement of learning should contribute to the success of this international venture by becoming annual subscribers to the whole series of catalogues.

Manual of Hygiene for use in India. By Charles Banks, M.D., C.M., D.P.H. Macmillan and Co. 1902.

THIS cheap and thoroughly practical little manual is most warmly to be commended to all new-comers to India, as well as to all Indians who can read English. It would be

an excellent thing if it were made a text-book in schools. It is written with a view to both Anglo-Indian and native conditions of life. English manuals on the subject, dwelling for instance on scarlet fever, are of little use where plague, dysentery, malaria and cholera claim far more victims than scarlet fever does at home, and where scarlet fever is probably unknown. Short paragraphs appear on the evils of early marriage, and on the care of children. It might be wished that for the sake of the Englishwomen who ought to be among the students of the book, the feeding of infants had been entered into more fully. The evil effects of drug-taking are rightly insisted on. The way in which Dr. Banks has carried out the idea suggested to him by the late Surgeon-General Harvey does the greatest credit to both.

The Highway of Fate. By Rosa Nouchette Carey. Macmillan's Colonial Library.

MISS Carey belongs to the class of women writers headed by Jane Austen, and followed by Miss Mitford, Mrs. Gaskell, and Miss Yonge. They delight in delineating the every day home life of English women and girls, their own sweet and gracious minds finding expression in their heroines. Miss Carey's "ladies" are invariably gentlewomen, and when drawing women of the working class or of the many classes which intervene between the two, Miss Carey writes from the lady's point of view. Her servants are drawn from the observation of the lady of the house, unlike those of George Moore who writes as if he had mingled with them on an equal footing if he has not, then his power of sympathy and imagination must considerably exceed that of Miss Carey's school. Many recent novels have given us sketches of child-life,—such sketches are very apt to be autobiographical, and one can often trace "by natural piety" the evolution of the child depicted by the author into the sort of man or woman that the author is. One would not expect Sarah Grand to have been a normal, and hardly an agreeable child; and her "Heavenly Twins" could not have been sketched by Mrs. Ewing—any more than the little hero of the "Story of a Short Life" could have been drawn by Sarah Grand. Olive Schreiner's little Calvinist who confides to a tree that he "hates God but he loves Jesus Christ" and Edna Lyall's "Donovan" who does not want to go to Heaven because he does not like sitting still, have both much in common with the brains that created them. This is markedly the case in women's novels, and it is mostly women who sketch children's characters. Dickens draws his "Little Nell" from the outside. Shorthouse in his "John Inglesant" treats his hero's boyhood in the feminine autobiographical manner

and so does Dickens in "David Copperfield," "Oliver Twist" and the "Danbeys." But as a rule it is women who draw children with the greatest fidelity and charm. Miss Carey's children are delightfully natural every day children of the ordinary religious English home, who turn their Bible stories into games, baptize and marry and bury their dolls, and act the Pilgrim's Progress in the garden on fine days, and up and down the stairs and passages when the wind and the rain confine them to the house. It is (alas!) comparatively easy to write a "Book of Snobs," but very few could draw such a humorous and yet kindly picture of a "nouveau-riche" maiden lady as Miss Carey has done of "Miss Jem," who engages a companion but can find no work for that bright young functionary except to "break her off that habit of saying "Lor'" which Lil says is vulgar" by bringing her the box for the Waifs and Strays for a fine of a penny each time she says the obnoxious word. The tone of the book is given at once by the quotations which introduce each chapter—Mackerlinck is evidently a favourite with the author and his words prefixed to the fifth chapter give the keynote of the lives of such women as Miss Carey and her heroines—"There is not a thought or feeling, not an act of beauty or nobility, whereof man is capable, but can find complete expression in the simplest most ordinary life."

History of Civilization in England. By Henry Thomas Buckle.
3 Vols. New Impression. Laymans, Greens & Co. London
and Bombay. 1902.

THE twenty-ninth of May last marked the anniversary of the day on which the little Christian cemetery at Damascus received the mortal remains of Thomas Henry Buckle. There is, then, something opportune in the recent appearance of the *History of Civilization* in a cheap and popular form. The *History* made its first appearance in the course of the year 1857, and, although it has not altogether fallen out of the professed students range of studies, it has not maintained the great reputation which it enjoyed during its author's life-time. It is a sad but inevitable reflection that the existing commercial laws under which the more important contributions to our national literature have to be made seem to necessitate a withholding from the public of great books until author and publisher have been remunerated in cash and until, as in the present case, the great book has in reality had its day. Buckle was very great as a man of letters, and although from a scientific point of view his book must be described as "antiquated," yet there cannot be any doubt that in this cheap and popular form, he will secure many—perhaps thousands—of fresh readers. In these times,

when our professional historians seem to find the production of school text-books a sufficiently engaging occupation, the resuscitation of Buckle's *History of Civilization* may perhaps serve to chasten our memories of a gone-by generation which devised, if it did not actually accomplish, greater things than the modern author cares even to contemplate.

Those who have followed Buckle from his first page to the last must have noticed with mingled feelings the author's own sense of his inability to execute the vast design so proudly set forth at his commencement. He had originally intended to write, not merely the history of English civilisation but the history of universal civilisation. In his introductory chapter on "The Resources for Investigating History," Buckle dwell on the narrow range of knowledge hitherto possessed by historians, and his lengthy catalogue of authorities shows how laboriously he had set himself to correct this deficiency. "I hope," he tells us, "to accomplish for the history of man something equivalent, or at all events analogous, to what has been effected by other inquirers for the different branches of natural science. He quotes with approval the sneer of Auguste Comte:—"l'incohérente compilation défaites déjà improprement qualifiée d'*histoire*," and he adds "something should be done on a scale far larger than has hitherto been attempted, and that a strenuous effort should be made to bring up this great department of enquiry to a level with other departments." Those who are at all familiar with the work will recall the sad confessions of the third volume:—

"These are the qualities, and these the high resolves, indispensable to him, who, on the most important of all subjects, believing that the old road is worn out and useless, seeks to strike out a new one for himself, and in the effort, not only exhausts his strength, but is sure to incur the enmity of those who are bent on maintaining the ancient scheme unimpaired. . . . And let him toil as he may, the sun and noontide of his life shall pass by, the evening of his days shall overtake him, and he himself have to quit the scene, leaving that unfinished which he had vainly hoped to complete. . . . Once, I own, I thought otherwise. Once, when I first caught sight of the whole field of knowledge, and seemed, however dimly to discern its various parts and the relation they bore to each other, I was so entranced with its surpassing beauty, that the judgment was beguiled, and I deemed myself able, not only to cover the surface, but also to master the details. Little did I know how the horizon enlarges as well as recedes, and how vainly we grasp at the fleeting forms, which melt away and elude us in the distance. Of all that I had hoped

to do, I now find but too surely how small a part I shall accomplish. In these early aspirations, there was much that was fanciful; perhaps much that was foolish. Perhaps, too, they contained a moral defect, and savoured of an arrogance which belongs to a strength that refuses to recognize its own weakness, still, even now that they are defeated and brought to nought, I cannot repent having indulged in them, but on the contrary, I would willingly recall them, if I could. For such hopes belong to that joyous and sanguine period of life, when alone we are really happy: when the emotions are more active than the judgment; when experience has not yet hardened our nature, when the affections are not yet blighted and nipped to the core; and when the bitterness of disappointment not having yet been felt, difficulties are unheeded, obstacles are unseen, ambition is a pleasure instead of a pang, and the blood coursing swiftly through the veins, the pulse beats high." He then sadly adds that his work can now "only be a fragment of the original design." And so the book from its origin aims at dealing with civilization as a whole, in the third volume narrows down into a few chapters of Scotch history.

For a comprehensive criticism of Buckle's work the reader will do well to turn to Sir Leslie Stephen's second volume on the *English Utilitarians*, and side by side with Sir Leslie's book read Mr. J. M. Robertson's *Buckle and his Critics*. Buckle's book is, in reality, a chapter in the history of the Utilitarian school, and its importance lies not so much in its historical worth as in the place which Buckle's method holds in the history of recent thought. It will be a misfortune if this cheap edition leads to Buckle's historical theories being popularised, for many of these theories will not stand the test of criticism. There are, indeed, few books with so wide a reputation which have gone so speedily out of a date as this attempted History of Civilization.

Lavinia. By Rhoda Broughton. Macmillan's Colonial Library.

THERE are, we believe, maiden's hysteric, whom report states to have

"followed the guns

And distributed buns

To the men that were down with enteric,"

but they do not make pleasant reading when described with quite so unsparring a pen as in Miss Broughton's up-to-date novel. Neither does one altogether appreciate marriage bells which have necessitated the killing off of a whole family to make two lovers happy. The book is often amusing in its

cynicism, but one does not feel friendly towards the author. "Optimi corruptio pessima" may be true, but the dissection of the worst side of human virtues belongs to the pathological novelist, and we prefer women who take a kinder and healthier view of their own sex. We cannot say that we altogether congratulate Captain Binning on winning Lavinia, except that she saved him from the clutches of Féodorovna.

Seven Roman Statesman. By C. Oman, M. A., Fellow of all Souls, Oxford. With Portraits and Illustrations. E. Arnold. London. 1892.

WE are afraid that at Oxford this latest work of an eminent representative of the School of Modern History will give some cause for exaltation to the enemy—the "lithum" men. Mr. Oman has written some useful text-books for the use of schools, and has made several contributions to popular historical literature, but his reputation is chiefly based on his writings as a specialist in the fields of Military History and it seems to us a very great pity that while Mr. Oman, might be at work on a book of lasting value, he should waste his time in the production of "pot-boiling" literature. The present work is very smart, and there are doubtless many who will appreciate its liveliness, but we doubt whether the scholar who has made the acquaintance of either Cicero or Cæsar in the pages of these great men will recognise the justice of Mr. Oman's portraits. Oxford Tutors may perhaps welcome Mr. Oman's essays as a sort of indirect aid to the schools. "Show that Mr. Oman's account of Cæsar is unfair," would be a refreshing alternative to a demand for a criticism of Mommsen's high-flown eulogy. But we must not be unjust. Mr. Oman's *Seven Roman Statesmen* would not be so disappointing if its author were not Mr. Oman.

The Ghost Camp. By Rolf Boldrewood. Macmillan's Colonial Library.

AS a graphic description of Australian life by one who evidently knows it thoroughly, this addition to our railway literature is welcome. The story itself is only very slightly connected with its title as the author himself implicitly confesses in the last chapter. Indeed it must be difficult, in a land which has been and still is such a field for adventure to keep to the thread of one story without diverging into many "another story" as Kipling has it; but the author has not Kipling's skill at merely hinting at these other stories so as to excite the desire to hear them another day, while not distracting immediate attention from the tale in hand. Whatever else Rolf Boldrewood may be, he is an optimist; the meals he describes rank with Sir

Walter's and make one echo "There's nothing like the food of fiction." With his hero we feel the glow of virtue after a morning dip in a half-frozen creek; and our own steps grow elastic as we read "His boots/were thick, his heart was light, the sun illumined the frost-white trunks and diamond-sprayed branches of the pines and eucalypts," and we are glad that the Hon. Valentine Blount, in spite of the past he is trying to forget, says to himself, "What a glorious thing it is to be alive on a day like this?" The course of the story leads us from sheep-farms and squatters' country houses through "cattle-duffing" to a Tasmanian silver-mine, and on to a seaside honey-moon at Hobart, ending with another wedding in an English Abbey-Church of a fascinating damsel (the real heroine of the book), who enters the story as the "maid of the inn," becomes an heiress, and marries a Flag-Lieutenant. The descriptions of scenery and of Australian life, past and present, and the happy optimism are the strong points of the book, the strict division of the guests at an up-country inn into those fit for the "gentlemen's room," and those relegated to the second table with the coachman and the drovers, is a touch which could only have been put in one by personally acquainted with the persistent British delight in class distinctions underlying the superficial democracy of Australian Society. So is the pathos afforded by the tragedy of the early penal settlements, and by the *personnel* of the crowd that rushes to the new silver-mine, including the derelicts of London Society struggling through a rude life to a cheerless future. The weakest part is the conversation, especially when that takes a serious or a sentimental turn, the serious characters are prigs of the worst variety, and the sentimental lovers are even more wearisome than usual. It will be enjoyed in spite of these faults by all interested in Australia and by that larger circle who in the approaching rains are glad to read anything that is not India, and anything in which the folks marry and live happily ever after though the number of gallant sons and fair daughters is not explicitly stated.

Cecilia, a Story of Modern Rome. By F. Marion Crawford. Macmillan's Colonial Library.

A VISIT to Rome, "Punch" recently said, has been found by many novelists to benefit the circulation: Marion Crawford has no need to pay a visit to Rome with this object in view. It does appear, however, as if Rome were visited more as Loudres is in search of healing, but in this case, healing of the mind, by the modern novelist, though it does not equally appear that the miracle has been wrought: Zola's hero sought religious perfection there. Hall Caine's a political panacea,

and both in vain. Bagot speaks with the scorn of a love to hatred turned, while Marie Corelli—but why take her seriously? Even Marion Crawford tends rather to descriptions of borderland insanity when he gets to Rome. “This last story of his turns on the habit that a young girl has of dreaming herself back into the ancient days of Rome, and finally identifying herself with a vestal virgin. In her dreams she falls in love, and in real life suddenly meets her dream hero. There is a touch of Marie Corelli about this. By a strange coincidence the hero also dreams about her; and as she soon becomes betrothed to his dearest friend, the position becomes intolerable. Granted that such a psychical condition is possible, the struggle of a conscientious girl and of an upright man to stop their dream-meetings, are drawn with great fidelity to the natural laws of the mind, reminding the reader of the psychological observations, and the rules of life based on them, of such great masters of the spiritual life as Ignatius Loyola and Francis of Sales. The book abounds with feminine touches, that scene for instance in which Cecilia alters the furniture in her room to enable her to avoid the temptation to sit down in her dreaming-chair and become the vestal virgin whom the dream-lover kisses; and that other scene in which the dream-lover, now the lover in real life, comes to plead the cause of his friend and rival and refuses to sit on the sofa with her, preferring to draw up a chair and face her. “He felt that he got an advantage by the position, and that to a small extent it placed him outside of her personal atmosphere.” This is the intuition of the woman, so necessary also to the doctor, the priest and the lawyer, so rarely found, but when found sometimes exceeding even the woman’s. In spite of the elements of tragedy in the story, it ends happily, and in Cecilia’s charm we quite forget that she is a young lady who in the opening chapters is devoted to the Categorical Imperative.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

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and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish
and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not
utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.*

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"WHERE THE SUN (LIGHT) NEVER SETS "

VISIT OF THE INDIAN CORONATION CONTINGENT TO PORT SUNLIGHT

To those members of the Indian Army who have been privileged to visit England, the memory of the reception which they received by all classes in the Mother Country will never fade. Wherever they went there was an enthusiastic welcome. But nowhere was the welcome more cordial than at Port Sunlight, the village which is known all over the world as the home of Sunlight Soap. Messrs. Lever Brothers took advantage of the visit paid by our brothers to Liverpool, and invited them to view their works and village. The invitation was accepted, and on Monday, July 28th, the entire contingent, under the command of Lieut.-Col. Dawson, travelled by special steamer from Liverpool to New Ferry, where they were met by the Port Sunlight Silver Prize Band, and escorted to Port Sunlight about a mile and-a-half away, through gaily-decked streets lined with cheering crowds of people. Flags and banners were displayed at every point and the day being gloriously fine, the scene was most enchanting. As the stalwart soldiers marched along, many complimentary remarks were heard, and the impression they created was highly flattering. Mr. W. H. Lever, the Chairman and founder of the company, received the contingent at the door of the Offices, and each detachment was guided through the works by an official. The reserve so noticeable in the Indian soldiery was somewhat broken down, as wonder after wonder was viewed; and many expressions of delight and astonishment passed from man to man as they visited the various departments. After leaving the works, the detachments were re-formed, and entered Hulme Hall—a large and handsome dining room for the work girls—where the officers and men were entertained with light refreshments, fruit, cigars, cigarettes, &c. Before leaving the hall each man was presented with a book containing views of the Village and Works, describing in detail many points of interest to the visitor, and also a cardbox containing sample tablets of Sunlight Soap, each box bearing labels in the seven principal Indian languages. The men were charmed with their visit, and those who could speak a little English expressed their regret that they had only been able to stay such a short time. To the villagers the sight of a body of men of such splendid physique and attired in such varied uniforms was educational, and the distinctly polite, gentlemanly manner of all the soldiers impressed everyone. There was at no time the slightest semblance of rushing or crowding. Everything was done in the most orderly style, and where favours were conferred the soldiers were profuse in their thanks. On the other hand, our Indian brothers will take back to their countrymen and to their loved ones in India pleasant stories of their visit to Port Sunlight, and a tangible gift with ample and easily read descriptions of the uses of that Sunlight Soap of which they have often heard, which has made the pretty village on the Mersey possible and famous.

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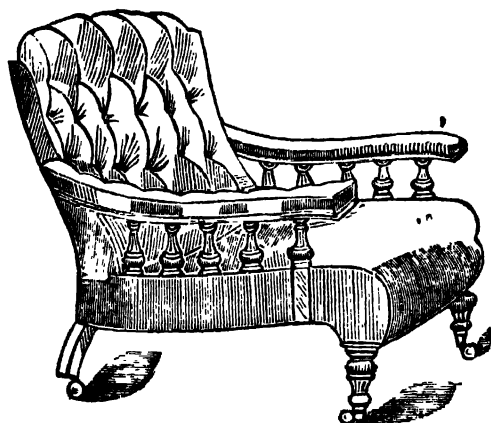
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No. 232—APRIL 1803.

ART. I.—PRACTICAL PROBLEMS OF ENGLISH

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get the opportunity of bringing him into actual connection with it.

Each head-master requires a commissary in the old country as much as any bishop. And he will do well in this connection to secure, if he can, the services of some past member of his staff. Even so he cannot, of course, be certain that he will ensure more than a fair description of the school and of its work to applicants. He must resign himself to the necessary limitation of his field of choice, and delegate, as a rule, the actual appointment which is so fateful of good or evil to him, to a third person. Then he has only to sit and wait for the arrival of the new master, with the disquieting knowledge based upon his past experience, that, if he has been lucky enough to secure a good man, the next problem which will trouble him will be how

to retain him in face of the many attempts which will be made to lure him away, while if the man proves worthless he stands committed to employ him throughout the period named in the agreement. The buying of a pig in a poke is a proverbially unsatisfying transaction, but by the nature of the case the English head-master in India can deal in no more certain market.

For on the spot there is practically no choice at all. So great is the demand for educated masters in this country that any man worth his salt is never out of employment, while the profession is, as a rule, so scandalously underpaid that a man who has once given up school life seldom, if ever, wishes to return to it. There are lame ducks, of course, here as elsewhere, and it is a distressing fact that so low is the standard in most schools in this matter that the most incompetent people do not blush to offer occasionally in a spirit of lofty patronage to fill a vacancy on the staff of a leading school. But woe to the head-master who is driven by stress of circumstances to engage one of these errant gentlemen, even as a temporary measure. He is lucky if he escape without a fist class scandal. In any case he runs the risk of lowered tone, of undermined discipline, of offended colleagues, and mutinous classes. It is better to run the school short-handed to the extent of half the staff than to embark upon an experiment of this disastrous character.

Frankly recognising then the difficulties that lie in the way of the actual engagement of a new assistant master for work in an English school in India, we have now to consider what, under the circumstances, should be the type of man that such a school should aim at securing, what his position and prospects are, and what compensation for exile can fairly be offered to him.

Assuming that the school is in the hills, without which proviso it is not too much to say that the ideal of English public school life is not to be realized, an offer of Rs. 250 per mensem, with furnished rooms, fuel, and lights, and the services of a cook and a sweeper provided free, will suffice to attract a man amply qualified to discharge the duties that will be required of him. And in this connection, it may prove useful to observe that it will repay any school to engage a competent man at a salary of Rs. 250 in preference to accepting the services of two insufficiently qualified teachers at, say, Rs. 100 each. If a passage out be included in the agreement, care should be taken to ensure at least a partial repayment of this in the case of a master who desires to terminate his connection with the school before the natural conclusion of his engagement. Otherwise in the peculiar circumstances of India, the governing body of any school may find itself continually

in the awkward position of paying the passages of men for the benefit of other persons or institutions. This contingency can be easily provided against by the exercise of a little forethought.

Broadly speaking the type of master, best suited for an Indian school is the ordinary graduate of Oxford or Cambridge. He should be a fair all round athlete, the games chiefly played in hill schools being cricket on matting, hockey, and football. High honours and first class athletics are, in general, not required. The standard of work as a rule is not worthy of the efforts of a distinguished scholar, and a good coach is far more wanted for games than a compiler of centuries or a demon bowler. And it is rare indeed to find a man who has taken high honours who is competent or willing to spend hours behind a net insisting on the slope of a bat and the pitch of a ball, while among great athletes they are few indeed who have the power and patience to produce in the class-room results at all comparable to their mighty performances outside it. While the all important fact must never be lost sight of that even the premier schools in India are far too poor to support a cricket master or a compiler of delicate *Alcaics* for those advantages alone.

Owing to past neglect nearly every school in this country finds that it has a great deal of lee-way to make up in matters purely scholastic, and that its athletics, valuable as they are as a necessary portion of its corporate life, cannot consequently be allowed a position of such dominant importance as they are apt to claim in England, in schools which can more readily afford the extra half-holiday or the casual sojourn in the hospital as the result of a football accident. So that the possession of either the intellectual or physical specialist upon the staff is not precisely the asset that it is at home.

No, what is required to-day in India is the steady painstaking teacher, whose interest in the fortune of the school will be keen enough to lead him to devote his out of school time to the betterment of the games with the same patient assiduity that marks his working hours. The school itself should occupy his future schemes as well as his present energy; and it is essential that he should never think of the extent to which his talent is being buried or of how much better he might be doing all the while elsewhere. A plain man content with his lot and solicitous only to improve his position by improving the prospects of the school in which he holds it, is the ideal colleague from the head-master's point of view. Nothing can be more distracting than the assistant who tries to do his work with attention equally divided between a pile of Latin *proses* and a slip cut out of the daily paper relating to a

tutorship to the son of a zemindar or a lectureship in English at a Hindu college in the mofussil.

And few things can be more dispiriting to those who are still working against great odds to raise the tone and standard of Indian education, than to run across one of the complacently self-satisfied young gentlemen who have turned their backs upon the scholastic career, and who from the giddy height of a billet in Jute or Petroleum, talk calmly and disloyally to all and sundry of the great improvement in their prospects, and speak with patronising indifference of the work that now lies so far behind and beneath them. Yet it is, perhaps, not altogether fair to expect that assistant masters shall alone be greater than the average run of humanity. We must rather set our brains to work to devise some means whereby the very temptations to which they succumb may be reduced or removed. Taking the high seriousness of the matter into account, we have to discover a method of holding out to our younger colleagues some future which shall at least rival the attractions of a commercial one, if we wish our schools to be permanently and adequately manned.

It ought not to be quite impossible so to regulate the affairs of the profession, as to bring a settled future with an adequate competence within the reach of all who endure the burden and heat of the day. And in the first place it would seem to be eminently advisable to lessen the practical difficulty of the problem by closing remorselessly the doors of the profession itself. There should be registration and recognition of all teachers upon the simple basis of proved efficiency. The possession of an English university degree, training in some government teachers' college, or a certain length of service on the staff of an approved school, such would be simple tests whose fairness would seem beyond dispute as qualifications for registration. Once registered, the future of the assistant master should be fairly secure. The elimination by this process of the lame duck would put a definite stop to underselling in the scholastic market, and to the present hideous complication of competition which enables that most undesirable fowl to protract existence at the expense of the loftier interests of education. The payment of head-masters by government instead of the present system of grants in aid would ensure a regularity of promotion within the limits of the registered body of assistant masters which would largely remove the allurements at present existing towards a change of life. There are many governing bodies, no doubt, that would never surrender their right to appoint their own head-masters. But much freedom in this respect would still remain to them. The field of choice would be amply wide enough. Only if the salary of

the head were paid by government the stipulation would be made that a man must be selected who conformed by registration to the general requirements of government concerning the whole profession. Head masters would thus become practically members of a state service, and the harassing uncertainty which at present paralyses the efforts of the very best of them would disappear. While the prospect of eventually passing into this charmed circle would necessarily attract to the shores of India a better type of assistant master than can be hoped for under existing limitations.

As a recognised branch of the educational service the standing of a head-master could not fail to gain in importance and security. The work itself is entrancing enough to draw men to take it up even now. But it suffers as has been suggested from conditions from which the adoption of such a scheme of state assistance would deliver it. To lavish time money and energy upon a school whose very continued life is uncertain, and too often dependent absolutely upon the stay of the man himself, in course of time produces disheartening effects upon the most devoted. And as things are to-day the one permanent thing in India is the government. It is not too much to say that the head-master who has the most jealous feeling about the school of his own creation, and who would resent most bitterly any outside interference with his ideals, would most gladly welcome a change which would enable him to believe, that however slowly his school might progress under the proverbially cautious guidance of the state, at least it would never go back, and that his own work would not be thrown away.

In conclusion, therefore, it would seem that the difficulties in the way of securing the right type of assistant master to work among English boys in India are great, but not insuperable. We must not aim too high. If we do, we shall defeat our own object. It must be frankly recognised that, at least at present, we do not want actually the level which is regarded as necessary in the great schools at home. It is not fair either to boys or masters to affect that we do. We require, in short, neither brilliance nor a Blue. But we must have English gentlemen, adequately learned, moderate athletes, and above all loyal, patient, high-principled, and with their hearts in the business.

On our side we should be able to hold out the following attractions. First and foremost, a work of unrivalled interest and importance, the creation and maintenance in this country of a school life in no way inferior to that which they have left to come out to us. The material has been proved over and over again to be excellent. English and Eurasian boys

alike in India have responded nobly to the demands already made upon their industry and obedience. Their brain-power is unquestioned, their capacity for athletic development is superior to that of the average schoolboy in England. *Crede experto*. They have the highest opinion of and admiration for masters who come to them from the great English Universities, the glamour of which thoroughly captivates them. He must be a poor creature indeed who cannot get the best results out of such boys both in work and play. And over all lies the charm of pioneer achievement. We are laying to-day in the hill schools the foundation of much of the future greatness of this country. So far, owing to conditions which it has fallen to us to change, boys educated in India have started grievously handicapped. Even so, many of them have risen to great place, and adorned the records of Indian history with useful and honourable lives. But there has not been the steady flow into public service and private enterprise of well trained intellects and disciplined activities which we hope from this day forward to see. Is the invitation to share in the glory of this future, one which will fall unheeded on the ears of the men that we look for? Not so.

Again, we are able to offer a freedom from pettiness which sweeps like a fresh breeze across the dusty paths of scholastic life. India is on a huge scale in many respects, and in none more so than in the experience of her boys. Let any young master, bored to death within the narrow limits of the intelligences that it is his business to awaken, pick up Mr. Rudyard Kipling's *Kim* and read the exquisite little piece of word painting that sets forth the character and world-knowledge of the boys in an Indian hill school. Let him weigh in his mind what is there written of the things that, on their way to and from school alone, they see and do. And if that picture make no appeal to the hunger that should be within him let him return to his poky lodging and his evening paper, for he is not of those that we seek.

Lastly, and on a lower plane altogether, we should be able to offer a comfortable present, full of interest and vitality, and a certain future after the work is done. As we have seen, that is a prospect which under present conditions few schools, if any, can hold out. But among the many grateful memories which will hereafter encompass India's recollection of her present Viceroy, assuredly not the least will be the vigorous shaking which his forceful presence has created among the dry bones of her educational system. And no one with practical experience can be in doubt that paramount importance attaches to those nurseries of the future members of the subordinate official grades, of the great commercial class, of the

engineering, medical, and teaching professions, that we have in our hill schools. In the reconstruction and further application of our educational machinery they will doubtless not be overlooked. Every fresh encouragement that may be given to them, every rupee spent upon their needs, will help to the firmer assurance of the validity of the promises that they ought to be in a position to make. Then the difficulty that now faces us will be removed, there will be no set back to the full charm of our offers, and the position of a master on the staff of a leading Indian school will be as much coveted as it is now suspected, and as solid as it is now precarious.

E. A. NEWTON, M.A.

Rector of St. Paul's School, Darjeeling.

ART. II.—THE ROYAL TITLES AND IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

THE English, in spite of their many excellent qualities, are not a very logical people. It is their wont to complacently go on tolerating anomalies of even the most glaring character and to remove them only when to tolerate them any longer becomes a sheer impossibility. Here in India we have a striking instance of this weak logical sense of the nation in the fact that the territories which till lately bore the name of the North-Western Provinces ceased to be the *north-western* provinces of British India on the annexation of the Panjab over half a century ago. The recent creation of the North-West Province made a change in the name of the North-Western Provinces an imperative necessity. "Nothing dies but something mourns," as the poet says, and in every human community there are men whose conservative instincts are hurt when any great change comes upon human affairs. So the threatened disappearance of the old familiar name "North-West Provinces" had its mourner in the most powerful exponent of conservative English opinion. We have another striking illustration of the weak English logical sense in a matter of great importance, namely, the style and title of the Sovereign of the British Empire. The title of the late Sovereign, of blessed memory, was latterly Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Defender of the Faith and Empress of India, the colonies, some of them of vast extent and of immeasurable potential importance, being entirely ignored; and her title, as it was during the earlier years of her reign, retained the long standing fiction that the Sovereign of the British Isles was also Sovereign of France. It is a little extraordinary, however, that on the accession of the present Sovereign, when the question came up of revising the Sovereign's title, deliberation in the Home cabinet and Home Parliament and consultation with the great colonies of Canada and Australia should have left Edward VII's titles as King of Great Britain and of all the British dominions beyond the Seas, Defender of the Faith, and Emperor of India. This aggregate of titles, which, for the sake of convenience, will be called title in this paper, is so obviously open to adverse comment on logical grounds that, but for the well-known disinclination of the English people to move out of old, accustomed grooves, and the present dominant, overshadowing position of the comparatively small kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland among the English-

speaking dominions of the British Sovereign, the adoption of the title would scarcely be intelligible. The United Kingdom is a kingdom; it is too small to be called an empire by itself; so its sovereign must be king or queen, and not emperor or empress. But where is the propriety of the Sovereign of a country like Canada or Australia, each approaching all Europe in area, being called king or queen? If Canada and Australia had been each a sovereign state and a monarchy, would they have been called Kingdoms? As a matter of fact, again, they are not called Kingdoms, and yet, by reason of their present subordinate position to the mother-country, have they their Sovereign's title as king. If with the word 'king' is associated the idea of sovereignty over territory of comparatively small dimensions, so as to make it incongruous that the Sovereign of territories nearly as large as all Europe should be called a king, with the now 'emperor' there seems to be associated in the English mind, vaguely though, the idea of possession of absolute power. There is no necessary connection, however, between 'emperor' and 'absolute power,' and the existence of constitutional empires, notably that of the late empire of Brazil under Don Pedro, has served in a measure to dissociate the possession of absolute power from the title of emperor. Looking back again to the earlier years of the nineteenth century, where was a king, besides that of the United Kingdom, who was not an absolute ruler? The term 'emperor' thus connotes the possession of absolute power no more than does the term 'king' and nothing could more effectually dissociate the idea of absolute power from the term 'emperor' than the assumption of the title of emperor by the constitutional Sovereign of the greatest monarchy in the world. The British Dominions as a whole is called by everybody an Empire. Where then is the impropriety of calling the Sovereign of this Empire an Emperor?

'All the British Dominions beyond the seas' must logically include India, and yet, in defiance of all logic does India figure in the Sovereign's title as something outside 'all the British Dominions beyond the Seas'. The retention of the title of 'Defender of the Faith' hurts again the susceptibilities of a numerous body among the subjects of the crown, namely, Catholics and Dissenters.

The revised title of the British Sovereign, it is further plain, is no way indicative of the *unity* of the British Empire. Imperialism has for sometime past been a dominant idea in Great Britain* and in the Colonies of Canada, Australia

* 'Great Britain' is, as usual, used in this paper in the sense of 'Great Britain and Ireland,' and 'Englishman' in the sense of a native of Great Britain or Ireland.

and New Zealand. At such a time it would not have been unreasonable to expect that the revised title of the British Sovereign would have been such as to announce to the world the *unity* of the British Empire under one common name. But things have, after all, not been ripe yet for such unification, and so there has been none. Dominions even of the rank of Canada and Australia are still called 'colonies,' a term which proclaims their inferiority of position in relation to the mother-country, and in the Sovereign's title they are lumped up together with petty colonies like Jamaica and Barbados under the phrase 'all the British Dominions beyond the Seas,' while Ireland, with a population not now larger than that of Canada, is specified by name.

The present title of the British Sovereign has not thus the elements of permanency about it. It stands in need of future revision in order that it may fitly represent the character of the Empire, and avoid hurting the susceptibilities of any of its component parts or any large sections of the population of any of these parts. The United Kingdom is a Kingdom, Canada a dominion, and Australia a commonwealth; and there is every likelihood of Newfoundland joining Canada and New Zealand joining Australia in no long time. South Africa, when confederated together, will doubtless pick up a special designation to mark its position as a free state under the British flag. India is a dependency bearing by herself the name of Empire, and there are other dependencies besides—colonies, protectorates, and spheres of influence. Kingdom, dominion, commonwealth and dependencies of all grades may well come under the common designation of dominions in the aggregate; and so the Sovereign of the British dominions as an aggregate may appropriately, it seems, be styled King Emperor of the British dominions. *King* in conjunction with *Emperor* would indicate the historical evolution of the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland into the Sovereign of the British Empire, and as fitly complimentary at the same time to the United Kingdom as being the nucleus and head centre of the Empire. There is much in a name, and so a unified designation for the British Sovereign would go some way towards promoting unity of feeling among the populations of the several scattered parts of the Empire. India's claims to be called an empire, as eloquently set forth by the Viceroy in his Darbar speech, is indeed very great, but, though she is called an empire, she is only an empire within a wider monarchy which is also called an empire, namely, the British Empire, so that it is a question whether, instead of being broadly called^d an empire, she would not, after the example of Canada and Australia, better be called by a specific

designation other than empire, and whether such specific designation should not be the pure Hindustani word *Raj*. *Raj* answers to the English word *Monarchy*, and is applicable to any kind of monarchy,—an empire, a Kingdom or a petty principality.

The imperialist idea has got hold in a way of the national mind in Great Britain as well as in the colonies of Canada, Australia and New Zealand. But the dreams of those who cherished the faith of a close union between the mother-country and her colonies on the basis of a customs-league or even of a war-league have been rudely dispelled by the results of the Colonial Conference lately held in London. The historical evolution of the British Empire has been such that no conceivable kind of federation can turn it into a consolidated, integral State like America or Russia. Consisting, as it does, of territories scattered all over the world, with interests accordingly of a widely divergent character, the British Empire wants the elements of cohesion that America and Russia possess. Portions of the Empire are, again, organised wholes, which would by no means like to forego their individuality or any measure of the independence they now possess. The union between Great Britain and her self-governing colonies, it is now plain, must mainly be of the nature of a perpetual defensive league. The trend of things is obviously towards Canada *cum* Newfoundland, Australia *cum* New Zealand, and South Africa confederated together and given the right of self-government becoming each an integral State with a complete organisation of its own like that of the United Kingdom itself. Such complete organisation would necessarily include means of defence by land and sea, that is, such defence as each state would require for itself. Besides a defensive league, the bond of union between Great Britain and her self-governing colonies should include also a common diplomatic and consular service and a common citizenship entitling the people of the several States to admission on perfectly equal terms to all offices within the Empire. A union like this would leave each member of the union to seek its own welfare in its own way, while, in the matter of defence, at the back of the strength of each there would be the strength of all the others. This would obviously be a gain to each, for the aggregate means of defence would be far greater than could be provided by each State for itself by stretching its resources to the utmost limit, and the stretching of resources to the utmost limit would never be needed by any one of the States by reason of the other States being at their back. A common diplomatic and consular service there is already for the whole Empire, but it is disadvantageous to Great Britain in that she has to bear the whole cost of the service, and also the colonies

in that the field of recruitment for the service is Great Britain alone. The cost should be fairly distributed, and the field of recruitment extended so as to include all the self-governing units of the Empire. As for all offices within the Empire being thrown open on perfectly equal terms to Colonials, John Stuart Mill more than a generation back, put this forth as the only feasible bond of union between the United Kingdom and her Colonial dependencies, though he admitted that suggestions for the establishment of a representative body for foreign and imperial concerns, in which the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and South Africa should each be adequately represented, proceeded from feelings of equity and conceptions of public morality, which are worthy of all praise.* The question is now not exactly at the same stage as when Mill wrote; nor is the expedient proposed by him of throwing open the service of Government in all its departments and in every part of the empire, on perfectly equal terms, to the inhabitants of the colonies one calculated to satisfy permanently great and growing colonies like Canada and Australia, as it does satisfy the Channel Islands, which have at present a population of only some 100,000 inhabitants and can have in future none but a magnificent addition to this number.

Mr. Chamberlain at the Colonial conference announced that the United Kingdom was ready to give the self-governing colonies a share of control over imperial and foreign concerns as soon as they would be ready to bear a share of the imperial burdens. But these burdens are very heavy, and this because the United Kingdom has powerful and heavily armed neighbours with whom her relations are not always of a very friendly character and because her entanglements are numerous in Asia and Africa. All this requires the maintenance of vast armaments by sea and land, upon objects in which the colonies are little interested. No wonder then that the colonies are not eager to have a share of control over imperial and foreign concerns at the cost of bearing any appreciable share of the imperial burdens. A dribble of £50,000 a year is the high-water mark of Colonial contribution at present towards the maintenance of the imperial navy and the premier colony, Canada, holds itself entirely aloof in this matter. The self-governing colonies are agreed that they should remain in the bonds of political union with the mother-country, and in order that this bond of union may be equitable all round it is necessary that colonies like Canada and Australia, which have now grown to maturity, should provide themselves with naval armaments adequate to their wants and to that extent relieve

the mother-country of a portion of her naval expenditure, and that there should be a definite arrangement about the distribution of the cost of the diplomatic and consular service, Canada and Australia bearing each a small share on the cost proportioned to the small share of benefit each derives from the service.

The question of war is the one aspect of the relation between the mother-country and the great colonies that immediately presses for solution. As matters now stand if Great Britain is at war with any State, the colonies too are at war with that State. This can cause no practical inconvenience to the colonies if the State in question is so weak that it can do no harm to any of them. The case would be otherwise, however, in the event of a war between Great Britain and any great Power or combination of Great Powers. For the safety of the colonies in such a case, one of two courses is open. Either the colonies should have some control over Great Britain's wars so that no wars would be entered upon by her which the colonies did not approve or they should have the right of remaining neutral when Great Britain had any war with a Great power. The latter is a question of an international character and so one not to be settled by a private arrangement between Great Britain and her colonies. The former is therefore the only course that seems feasible. A share of control over questions of war then the colonies should have if they are to remain politically attached to Great Britain. Such share of control cannot fail to have the whole effect of making Great Britain more pacific than she has yet become. She has inherited certain unhappy war-like traditions in common with her great European neighbours, and she has been foremost in the matter of aggression and annexation. The field of aggression and annexation has been greatly narrowed since the recent partition of the African continent, and the British Empire has now attained such enormous expansion that any further expansion, except perhaps the occupation of some of the yet unoccupied islands of the Pacific which Australia is so very eager to have, is no way desirable. Great Britain then, with the convenience of her colonies, may well impose upon herself a self-denying ordinance disclaiming all forcible annexation of territory in future and invite other Powers to do the like. The desire of appropriating foreign territory is the chief incentive to war and so a renunciation of this desire by the most powerful empire in the world would be a great help to the cause of peace all over the world. Further conquests being renounced the Empires sole concerns would be defence, and in this great Britain with the co-operation of her self-governing colonies and her great dependency of India would be invincible so long as the course of war remains.

It is a question whether, along with participation in control over war, should not be associated also participation in control over dependencies. It is certainly desirable that the Government of dependencies, particularly of the great dependency of India should be beyond the range of British party politics, and this would be effectively secured only if direction and control about it rested, not with the British Parliament, but with a representative body in which, alone with Great Britain, the self-governing colonies should also be represented. But the time seems distant when this could come about. For the present and for some time yet to come, the management of all dependencies—India, which is governed on the crown colony method, other crown colonies, protectorates, and spheres of influence—must rest with Great Britain alone. The garrisoning of dependencies, the carrying on of such wars as are now being carried on against the Mullah in Somaliland and against the Sultan of Kaneo, and other troubles of the like kind, the self-governing colonies can have little desire to share with the mother country. But when order comes to reign in the big African dependencies, as does now reign in India, and when the self-governing colonies double or treble their present populations, it will be time it seems for their coming in for a share of control over dependencies and a share also of the responsibilities that go along with such control. This is a matter, though, of no immediate concern.

The great dependency of India not only pays her way, but materially helps the Empire. Certain other dependencies—crown colonies and protectorates—are likewise self-supporting. Generally speaking, British dependencies are, as all dependencies should be, run on such lines as to make them self-supporting. Portions of territory like Gibraltar or Malta, which are held for military or naval purposes, form, of course, a class apart: and petty crown colonies can never have the means of fully providing for their defence, for which they must lean, primarily, upon Great Britain, and when necessary upon the rest of the Empire besides. Letting alone the lesser dependencies, it cannot be claimed even for the great dependency of India that it should be represented in an Imperial Federal Council sitting in London, in a similar way with Great Britain and her self-governing colonies. But some measure of representation, India in the first place, and after her the crown colonies and protectorates should have in the British Parliament, so long as they are exclusively under the control of Great Britain, and in a Federal Council when there comes to be one.

Irish discontent is now the greatest difficulty in British home politics. Even Gladstone's high statesmanship, which

knew so well to adapt itself to the changing order of things failed to successfully tackle this Irish difficulty. His scheme of Home Rule for Ireland was a clear failure, and any other scheme on the same lines would be doomed to equal failure. To the outside observer, it is not very clear why Home Rule all round for England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, on the lines of such Home Rule as there is for the provinces of the Dominion of Canada, and for the provinces of the Commonwealth of Australia, together with a British Parliament answering to the Dominion or the Commonwealth Parliament, does not commend itself to British Statesmen of all shades of opinion, and to the British public generally, as the only effective practicable device for putting an end to Irish discontent. Upon this purely British question it is not indeed for an Indian, like the present writer, to put forward any specific scheme. It is for the British people themselves to solve it in a way that would be agreeable to the great majority of those who are vitally interested in the matter. But upon a question that is specially Indian, namely the position and prospects of India in any possible federation of the Empire, an Indian may well claim to have his say. Naturally enough an Indian can take up the Indian point of view better than the foreigner can.

India is a very important member of the Empire, and contributes so largely towards the maintenance of Great Britain's high position among nations that even eminent British Statesmen have loudly proclaimed it to be the brightest jewel in the British crown. So it is in a certain sense. But in that which is the true measure of a country's greatness, namely, the quality of the units of the country's population, India is a long way behind not only Great Britain herself, but also behind Canada and Australia. That the quality of the units of the Canadian and the Australian population is much higher than that of the Indian, and that in industry, trade, commerce, and wealth, as calculated per head of population, Canadians and Australians are far and away in advance of the Indians, are facts not unknown to British Statesmen and the British public. But though far behind Canada and Australia when the average per head of population is considered, India has a much larger aggregate revenue and offers a much ampler market, unrestricted by any possible protective tariffs, for British commerce, and above all, she is, as a subject country, under the absolute control of Great Britain in all matters and supplies very highly paid appointments to a numerous body of Britishers in the Civil, Medical and Military Services. So India is at present of far greater value to Great Britain than Canada and Australia are. But the rate of future progress in Canada

and Australia must be more rapid than in India, so that their relative importance must largely increase in future. Only if they are retained as integral parts of the British Empire, can this Empire maintain its position as a 'first class State, side by side, with the America and Russia of the future.

Generally speaking, physical inferiority is the most marked inferiority of the Indian to the European. Though in certain parts of India the standard of physique is on a par with the European, over the greater part of the country the physique of the people is low indeed—so low as to place them at a great disadvantage in the field of competition with more vigorous races of men. The 'animal qualities of a race,' says the great English philosopher, Herbert Spencer, form a necessary basis for all higher qualities.* The leaders of social reform in India would do well to always keep in view this fundamental truth.

Nobody pretends that, if Canada and Australia are fit for self-Government, India is fit also, or can be fit very soon. Her position for a long time yet to come must be one of dependence. But while in a position of dependence, is she not to be gradually trained so as to be fit ultimately to manage all her affairs herself, and thus become a more valuable member of the Empire than she now is? The benefit she has derived from the British connection has been simply immense. British maintenance of order and British installation of progress on Western lines have been to her a boon above all price. But while this is freely conceded it cannot be maintained that the British system of Government is all that can be desired and that there are not great difficulties in the way of its attaining the full measure of equity towards which it is but slowly tending. There can be no disguising the fact that there is a direct antagonism of interests between large and powerful sections of the British people and the people of India, and British statesmen, however high their individual sense of equity may be and however clear and far reaching their political vision, cannot suddenly make any radical changes that would violently disturb powerful vested interests. The classes of the British people which now furnish youths to fill the highly paid Indian Civil Service and to officer the Sepoy army in India would naturally look with disfavour upon any scheme that would aim at making much cheaper Indians, on perfectly equal terms the competitors of such British youths. In effecting reforms statesmen have indeed to overcome resistance, but wise statesmanship has often to choose the line of least resistance. The present supremely capable and clear-sighted Viceroy in creating the Imperial

* *Study of Society*, p. 97.

Cadet corps, has taken a step that can provoke no resistance. But can this quiet beginning fail to eventually lead to the opening-up of Commissions in the Sepoy Army to all Indians who on perfect equal terms, prove their fitness in competition with Britons and Colonials? The British national conscience is a progressive conscience, and there can be no doubt that British public opinion will, as time rolls on be more and more in favour of removing all sorts of disabilities under which Indians now labour, and from which Indians themselves, as they progress, would naturally seek to be delivered.

The British conquest of India has not done the country the greatest good that a conquering race can do to a country conquered by it. This greatest good is the settlement of the conquerors among the conquered, and the formation, in consequence, of a united community having common aims and aspirations, this united community being all the richer for the accession of the qualities of the conquering race to the qualities of the conquered. Englishmen of the better sort—members of the Civil, Medical and Military Services, and planters and merchants, who have spent the best years of their lives in India—have seldom thought of making India their own or their children's home. They have been birds of passage, and though benefit has come to the country from the presence of such birds of passage, this benefit has been nothing like what it might have been if any considerable section among them had settled in the country for good, and had thus come to have a permanent stake in its destinies. The people of European descent now domiciled in the country belong, generally speaking, to the lower strata of Europeans, and they are, generally speaking, inferior in brain power to men belonging to the more intellectual classes of the native Indian population. What a valuable addition to the present weak domicile community would it be if any considerable number of Anglo-Indians of the Civil, Medical and Military services could be induced to settle with their families in India! The gain would be not one to this particular community alone, but to the entire Indian community. We all know what a valuable element the Parsi population of India is—rather less than 100,000 individuals* in the midst of near 300,000,000. Would not men of British bone and muscle and brain, with all the qualities of body and mind that these imply, be a still more valuable addition in proportion to their number? Parsis have not degenerated in the hot Indian climate, nor have the Armenians and Jews settled in the country for hundreds of years. The Armenians at any rate originally belonged to a country which, from its altitude, if not its latitude, has a climate not less cold than that of England. But

they moved on progressively to warmer and warmer climates, and so at present they stand the Indian climate well. Settlers of British descent have not thriven well in the West Indies. But in their case there was the drawback of a sudden transition from a cold to a very hot climate. Nevertheless there has been acclimatisation to a certain extent, particularly in the island of Barbados, the oldest of British possessions in that part of the world. In the case of British settlers in India the transition need not be sudden. There are hills and plateaux in India where the temperature is cool enough in summer. Residence in such hills or plateaux would be a necessary preliminary to residence in the plains. The secret of successful acclimatisation is progressive movement, so that any sudden change from great heat to great cold and *vice versa* may be avoided. British settlers in India would be in the position of Armenians whom the pursuits of trade and commerce have made residents of a tropical climate. They would have no out-door manual work to do. It may then be fairly assumed that Englishmen settled in India, though they would necessarily undergo a change of type to even a greater extent than they have done in North America and Australia, where the climate is more suitable for them, would undergo no actual degeneration. The Woodburns and Cottons who have worked for generations in India, have shown no signs of degeneracy. Residence in Indian hills or plateaux could do for others what residence in Great Britain in the earlier years of life and during leave while in service did for them. Besides there is nothing to prevent any domiciled European from going to Europe for purposes of education and passing a few years there. Modern science, again, could furnish numerous appliances for acclimatisation such as were not possible in past times. A superior class of domiciled Europeans living as natives of this country in touch with other natives would be a powerful instrument of Indian progress, and they would at the same time be able to furnish to the Indian Services, at much less cost, men of as good a stamp as the men now drawn from Great Britain. The present high standard of the services would thus be kept up without extensive importations of costly foreign educated labour; and Hindus (Sikhs and Jains are rightly included under this term) and Muhammadans and Parsis and other communities in India could also furnish men of as good a stamp. Further a strong domiciled European community in India would be a strong permanent link between Great Britain and India. For a long time yet to come it would be necessary indeed, in the interests alike of India and of the Empire, to have a good number of high-type Englishmen to conduct the higher

affairs of the country. But it is one thing to have a comparatively small band of Englishmen at the head of affairs and quite another thing to have a numerous body of Englishmen to look after such affairs as can, be equally well looked after by natives of the country at much less cost.

Anglo-Indians,* as a rule, live in isolation from the natives of the country, and Euro-Indians,* taking their cue from Anglo-Indians, try to keep themselves at a distance from the bulk of their countrymen and hanker after exceptional privileges. This attitude of theirs would naturally incline native public opinion to view with disfavour any proposal for strengthening their community. But the proposal put forth in this paper aims at making *Indians* of them. We all know the late Sir John Woodburn's feeling acknowledgment of three generations of his, having eaten the salt of India, and Sir Henry Cotton's declaration about his being a hereditary member of the Indian administration; and we know also the deep feeling of sympathy put forth for the children of the soil. That the descendants of high-type Englishmen, domiciled in India would have sympathy for the Indian races, may then be fairly assumed, and the presence in India of such men, would be the best of helps towards India's freedom from a state of perpetual pupilage.

The desirability, for India's good, of a strong domiciled European community being granted, the question that has to be faced is the devising of a practicable scheme for the creation of such a community. Only inducements of a very extraordinary character could tempt Anglo-Indians of the better sort to make India their home. Such inducements would cost money, and the question is, would British public opinion and the British Parliament be won over to allow any expenditure for an object like this? Supposing them to be won over, the means to be employed for attaining the object might be as follows:—Liberal pensions on a considerably lower scale to those who choose to return to the old country on retirement from service in India; ample help from the State towards the boarding and education of the children of such domiciled Anglo-Indians in suitable localities; and reservation of a good number of civil appointments in the country and of a very much larger number of military appointments for domiciled Anglo-Indian youths. As the number of permanent Anglo-Indian settlers in any one year would be but small, the

* 'Anglo-Indian' is here used in its generally accepted sense, and 'Euro-Indian' in the sense attached to "Anglo-Indian" by the "Imperial Anglo-Indian Association." 'Euro-Indian' would thus be applicable to Europeans by birth or descent domiciled in India and to people of mixed European and Indian blood.

initial annual cost for the promotion of such settlement would be small, and the increase of the cost, year by year, would be small too. The great difficulty would be to get the principle accepted—that the object proposed would be worth the cost. As regards the reservation of appointments for domiciled Europeans, the proportion should of course vary from time to time, so that the amount of encouragement held out in the beginning might grow less and less as the object for which it was held out approached nearer and nearer to attainment. The test for admission to the services should of course be the same for all without distinction of colour or creed, and all British subjects, to whatever part of the world they might belong, should, on perfectly equal terms, be eligible for admission. Further, it is desirable that candidates selected for the same kind of service should go through a common course of instruction together for some time, so that a spirit of comradeship might grow up among them, and race prejudices might be curbed. One country holding another *permanently* in subjection is a thing altogether repugnant to the spirit of modern civilisation, and if Great Britain is to gradually train up India to arrive at the self-governing stage in the future, however remote that future may be, one very effective means towards that end would be the permanent settlement of Anglo-Indians of the better type on Indian soil.

If, for keeping up the present Anglo-Indian standard of efficiency in the Civil, Medical and Military Services without extensive importations from Great Britain,—the settlement of retired Civil, Medical and Military officers be desirable to keep up the present standard of such soldierly qualities as are now to be found in the rank-and-file of the British army in India,—it would be desirable to have small colonies of picked European soldiers planted in suitable localities. The descendants of such colonists could form a valuable, though minute, addition to the martial races of India, and from them could be obtained handfuls of soldiers of European descent, who, with the best Sikhs and Guikhas, would furnish a model for the native Indian army. The settlement of Military Colonists is again a question of cost, and so, it is beset with difficulties. But if the principle is accepted, the cost, year by year, need not be large.

The antagonism of interests between large and powerful sections of the British people and the people of India, before referred to, would be a great obstacle in the way of the principle of European settlement in India being accepted. It would be best, it seems, if Native Rulers in the country made a beginning in the direction of getting Europeans of the better sort to settle in their States, and to enlightened

Native Governments, like that of Mysore, the idea of holding out special encouragements to capable and sympathetic Europeans to settle permanently in India, may perhaps commend itself. When learning was at a low ebb among the Brahmans of Bengal, King Adisur of Bengal invited learned Brahmans from Kanauj, gave them rich gifts of land, and settled them with their families in Bengal. With the Brahmans came also Kayasths from Kanauj. The descendants of these Brahmans and Kayasths now constitute the foremost section of the people of Bengal. Bengal would be nowhere now without her Brahmans and her Kayasths. Indians of the present day do possess indeed many estimable qualities but it is a patent fact that there are qualities of body and mind in which they are much behind Englishmen. Were it not so the English would not be here to rule over them. Men of the good English stock settled in India would be standing models for teaching Indians qualities in which they are deficient and which Englishmen possess in abundant measure, and they would be the countrymen of Indians, ready to make common cause with them in all matters of national concern.

A federation of Great Britain and her colonies and dependencies would not bring together the whole of Great Britain, for outside the British Empire there is the Great American Republic which, from the magnitude and richness of its resources and the character of its people, seems obviously destined to become the strongest and wealthiest among the great English-speaking countries of the world, and the strongest and wealthiest country likewise in the world. Little England may well feel proud that she has expanded into a wide, wide *Englishland*, a name under which could fitly be included all lands where English is now the language of the people, and a time may come when all this Englishland will be politically united. At present, however, a close *rapprochement* between the English-speaking lands now under the British Crown together with the non-English-speaking British dependencies on the one hand and the English-speaking American Union on the other, is alone possible, and such *rapprochement* is greatly to be desired in the interests of peace and progress all over the world. It could give the great English-speaking race that preponderant weight in the councils of nations, which its present position in the world entitles it to, but which neither the British Empire alone nor the United States alone could command. All friends of humanity must, therefore, hail with delight the growing good feeling between old England and her most vigorous offspring across the seas.

SYARNACHARAN GANGULI.

ART. III.—IMPERIAL CALICUT.

IF the Zamorin of Calicut—a descendant of one of the oldest dynasties in this vast Empire—should accept the invitation of His Excellency Lord Curzon to attend the forthcoming magnificent Proclamation pageant in the ancient and historic city of Delhi*, he will certainly be one of the most picturesque figures in the gorgeous galaxy of Indian Princes and Chiefs who will be gathered together on that historical occasion, the grandeur of which, apart from anything that may be said in its justification, bids fair to transcend even the dreams of the most ostentatious of Oriental rulers, modern or ancient. The Zamorin of Calicut, were he to visit the Delhi Durbar, would go there enveloped, so to speak, in an atmosphere of ancient history, and his presence would be calculated to remind the student of history of some of the most stirring, important and picturesque events and chains of events connected with the slow and steady growth and consolidation of British power in Southern Asia. The present is, therefore, an opportune season for glancing briefly at the long and chequered history of Calicut—"Imperial Calicut, the lordly seat of the first Monarch of the Indian State," as Camões, the soldier-poet of Portugal describes it in one place in his fascinating and immortal epic—the *Lusadas*. The difficulty in dealing with the history of a town like Calicut is that of finding a suitable "jumping off" place from which to start. The earliest and obscurest traditions and legends connected with it are naturally mixed up in a manner that admits of no separation with those relating to the ancient province or kingdom of which it formed a portion. According to Hunter, Calicut was known to the European, chiefly on account of its pepper trade, as far back as in the times of Sinbad the Sailor, which takes us, it will be remembered, into the days of the Roman Empire. It is also historically certain that its "commodious port," to borrow another phrase from Camões, was familiar to Eastern navigators, and that the Near East made its acquaintance and had commercial relations with it even in the time of Solomon the Wise, for the building of whose temple at Jerusalem ships were sent to the Malabar Coast for gold and spices and ivory and peacock's feathers. The Phœnicians, the greatest commercial nation of antiquity, are also known to have traded with it 3,000 years ago. In the same waters in which modern leviathans, flying the British flag, now anchor in considerable

* The Zamorin did not attend the Durbar, on the plea of ill-health.

numbers every year, the well-appointed and efficiently-manned Phœnician sea-going ships, by which the nation, according to no less an authority than Ezekiel," was replenished and glorified exceedingly in the heart of the sea," rode proudly a thousand years before Christ, at a time, in fact, when our great Anglo-Celtic race, now the greatest sea-power in the world had not yet begun to weld itself into a cohesive whole.

The Calicut of the Zamorins may be said to have entered into the page of history, as an independent item, somewhat over a thousand years ago when the last king or Emperor of Malabar—Cheruman Perumal—secretly set out on a voyage to Arabia under extraordinary circumstances, which will bear repetition. The Perumal dreamed one night that the full moon appeared at Mecca on the night of the new moon, and that, when at the meridian, she split into two, one of the halves descending to the foot of a hill, where the other half joined it, and both of them then set. It transpired that very shortly after this dream some Mahomedan pilgrims *en route* to Serendib had an audience of the Perumal, and casually informed him that the Prophet had converted a large number of unbelievers by means of the very miracle which the Emperor had dreamt about. This circumstance so worked upon the feelings of the latter that he made out a deed partitioning his dominions among the various petty Chieftains and then secretly embarked for Mecca, which, however, he does not seem to have reached. The partition was a very elaborate one, but it appears to have left the Zamorin out in the cold, which was certainly a regrettable matter, seeing that the Zamorin, according to local tradition, was the survivor of two Puntura youths of noble lineage, who by their valour and prowess had driven out from the Perumal's territory, after a battle which lasted three days, a Pandyan King who had had the temerity to invade the country and had taken possession of a port of great strategical importance. However, just as the Perumal was on the point of setting sail, the Zamorin appeared and the emperor informed him that his kingdom had nearly all been apportioned, nevertheless, there remained one *desour* or village so small, that a cock crowing could be heard all over it, also a stretch of thorny jungle. These territories were received gratefully by the Puntura youth, and they were accompanied with the gift of the Emperor's own sword of battle, bearing the inscription "to die and kill and seize." This wonderful Excalibur is still preserved and jealously cared for in the ancient palace of the Zamorins, some miles away from modern Calicut. The blade is rusted and worn down, and a copper covering has had to be made to prevent the original from succumbing further to the ravages of rust and time. The little strip of territory granted to the

Zamorin under such romantic circumstances was none other than "Imperial Calicut," the ancient city, which was destined to be the first link in that long chain which has now at length bound the entire Indian Peninsula, may I not say with golden chains, about the feet of Britannia?

By the aid of the sword and the command that went with it, traditionary history says, imperial Calicut rose speedily to be a great centre of trade with foreign countries, as well as with other parts of India, and it soon became "the most famous port in the world for its extensive commerce, wealth, country, town and King." It is related that on one occasion an East Coast Chetty reached the port with a ship overloaded with gold. The ship was returning from Mecca and ran into Calicut only because it was about to sink in consequence of its excessive burthen. The Chetty landed and waited on the Zamorin, to whom he related his story. The ruler of the mountains and the waves (for this is the meaning of the title Zamorin) had a granite cellar built in his own palace and in this strong room he permitted the Chetty to store as much of the gold as the ship could not carry. The merchant then continued his homeward voyage; and returning shortly after, found his treasure intact. The grateful Chetty begged the King to take half the gold as a gift, but he would have none. The Chetty then asked permission to trade at Calicut,—and this permission was granted and the bazaar was founded. In all probability the site is the same as that of the present native business quarter, known as the Big Bazaar or *valu Angadi*, the western end of which opens out on the white fringe of sea-shore where a good deal of the native shipping of the port is still carried on, while the eastern end leads off through the quarters of the high caste Hindus to the Calicut palace or *Kovilakom* of the Zamorins. It is further related that a Mahomedan merchant of Muscat sent the elder of his two sons in a ship to trade in foreign countries, giving him a liberal supply of gold. The young man visited country after country and offered presents to the rulers. The gift consisted of pickle boxes filled with gold, but the youth always made it a point to tell the recipients that it was only pickle. King after king accepted the gift, but conveniently preserved silence on discovering what the box really contained. Eventually Calicut was visited and the experiment was tried on the Zamorin, with the immediate result that the king sent for the donor and pointed out that, evidently by some mistake, gold had been substituted for pickles. The stranger had now found a truly honourable and trustworthy king, and he decided to settle in Calicut, where he subsequently became the leading priest of the Moors or Moplahs. Meanwhile, the Excalibur of the

Perumal was not suffered to rust in its sheath, and when Sheikh Ibu Batuta of Tangiers, a most observant traveller, visited Malabar, during the first half of the fourteenth century, he found Calicut one of the great ports of the district of Malabar, one "in which merchants from all parts are found." "The greatest part of the Mahomedan merchants of the place are so wealthy," writes this interesting Eastern traveller, "that one of them can purchase the whole freightage of such vessels as put in here and fit out others like them." At this period of its history, the Moors appear to have shared the great and expanding trade of Calicut with the Chinese, for, among other proofs, we have Abdur Razzak, another Eastern traveller and a fairly careful chronicler, writing early in the fifteenth century, that the sea-faring population of Calicut were nick-named at the time of his visit, *China Bhuchagan* or China boys. However, it is beyond all doubt that by the end of the fifteenth century, the commercial influence of the Chinese in the blue waters of imperial Calicut had dwindled down almost to a vanishing point, and when the dauntless and adventurous navigators of Portugal, led by the great sea captain who had set sail from the obscure little Portuguese village of Belem, arrived in the great emporium which Camœns has so graphically described Moorish influence was all powerful.

We now come to a deeply interesting, momentous and epoch-making event in the history of Calicut, and in treating of it, it will be necessary to allude briefly to two still-unsettled disputes that have troubled historians and enquirers, one of these disputes having reference to a place and the other to a date. In the year 1498, Vasco da Gama, the adventurous Portuguese sailor, having successfully rounded the Cape of Good Hope and conquered at great cost the storms and waves of unknown seas, eventually found himself standing on the red soil of Calicut, beneath the graceful and palm fronds. Morse, Stephens and other writers, who have had access to Portuguese and other documents, mention the 20th of May 1498 as the date on which Vasco da Gama landed in Calicut. But Logan in his exhaustive History of Malabar, mentions the 26th of August as the date on which Da Gama's two ships, having run across from Melinde with the South West monsoon, first sighted the coast of Malabar. This statement tallies with what is set down in a Malayalam manuscript, written on *olla* or palm leaves, and preserved in the archives of a branch of the Zamorin's family. The translation of this statement runs as follows:—"In the year of the Taliha 904, or the sixth of Karkadom 672, three of the Feringhee's ships came to Pandarani Kollam. It being in the monsoon, they anchored there and came on shore. They went to Karikate, where they learnt

all the news of Malabar. At this time they did not tra le, but returned again to their own country—Portugal. It is supposed the motive of their coming was for pepper. Two years afterwards they returned from Portugal with six ships, and came to Karikote." It is noteworthy that though this document is trustworthy in other respects, it is open to doubt in respect of the statement as to the number of snips, for it has been certainly established that one of the three vessels with which Da Gama started was broken up on the coast of Natal and that he arrived in Malabar with only two vessels. It is just possible, however, that the native chronicler may have mistaken a ship's boat for a larger vessel. However, it must have been in August, and not in May, that Da Gama arrived off Malabar as he had weathered the South-West monsoon in the Indian Ocean, and this could not have been earlier than June. The next dispute is as regards the port at which Da Gama first landed. According to some accounts, it was Kappatt. Correa mentions this port, but other chroniclers say Pandarani Kollam. The former port is eight miles to the north of Calicut, while the latter is about double that distance northwards. There is a mud bank at Kollam and a little bay, which render landing possible in rough weather, so that it is not difficult to reconcile both accounts by assuming that anchor was first dropped at Kollam and that eventually, the ships rode down to Kappatt, where Da Gama landed, and in jumping ashore unconsciously took a step which was destined to change the whole course, as it were, of the subsequent history of Europe, for the landing in Calicut was the first nail that was driven in the coffin of Venice, the queen of the Adriatic into whose lap "the exhaustless East" had until then poured all her gems "in sparkling showers."

One of the first things that DaGama did in Calicut was to obtain the permission of the Zamorin to erect a factory and to begin trade. The permission was granted, but the jealousy of the Moors was too much for the Portuguese, who soon abandoned the town. Two years later, when a second expedition arrived from Portugal, there was a keen struggle for commercial supremacy, but matters did not make much headway until 1533, when the great Albuquerque, whom his king and his country treated in the long run with such undeserved injustice, obtained valuable trade concessions, as well as leave to erect a fort at Calicut, in a locality of his own selection. The site chosen appears to have been on the northern bank of the Kalla river, at the southern extremity of Calicut, and just beyond the Big Bazar mentioned in a previous paragraph. Not one stone, however, of this fort now remains for in 1515, during the constant struggles be-

tween the Portuguese on the one hand and the Zamorin and the Moors on the other, the place was abandoned during the siege, the last man to leave it setting fire "to a train of gunpowder which killed many of the Nairs and Moors, who in hope of plunder had flocked into the fort directly it was abandoned."

We now enter upon another important stage in the history of Calicut. In 1615, Captain Keeling, with three English ships which were the same that had brought Sir Thomas Roe on his embassy to the Great Mogul, arrived off Calicut and concluded with the Zamorin a treaty, which included permission for the founding of a factory at Calicut. The Zamorin's object was merely to obtain the help of the English in driving the Portuguese from Cranganore and Cochin, which they had conquered, and when the English showed no signs at helping in this business, the ten persons who were left by Captain Keeling to found a factory received very ungracious treatment. However, by the middle of the seventeenth century, the English Company had contrived to supplant both the Portuguese and the Dutch to some extent in many parts of India, and in September 1664, an agreement was concluded with the Zamorin for the establishment of a Settlement at Calicut, the Company agreeing to pay duty to the Zamorin on the trade carried on at the port. The jealousy of the Zamorin, whose experience of the Portuguese had not been favourable, continued nevertheless, and it was not until after the English Company had been settled nearly a century at Calicut, that they were permitted, in 1759, even to tile their factory there, so as to protect it against fire. Meanwhile, we find that in 1698 the French also had managed to establish a factory in the place, though at this time they were apparently not doing much, for Hamilton tells us they neither had money nor credit and were "not in a condition to carry on trade." We may close this chapter of Calicut history by merely stating that the Dutch also had succeeded in establishing a factory in the place. The site of the Dutch quarter is still easy to find and it is occupied at present, mostly by East Indian families with patronymics that recall the heroic age of Portugal, and the brave struggle of the Portuguese to obtain supremacy in Asia. The French quarter or *loge*, as it is called, still exists as one of the foreign dependencies of the Republic, but it yields absolutely no material return to France, and the wonder is that France should cling to it so tenaciously when she might any day obtain a fairly good price for the land from the British Government.

To hark back a little we might mention that in the closing years of the seventeenth century, the notorious pirate, Captain

Kydd, with his crew of noblemen, appeared in Calicut waters and captured a small Dutch barque, which he carried off to Madagascar. For some time after, he cruised constantly in the neighbourhood of the port and committed many daring acts of piracy. He was succeeded by one Captain Green, who also appeared in Calicut, and under the guise of lawful trading, did not let slip any opportunity of plundering weaker vessels. Piracy, on the part of Europeans and Natives, was rife at Calicut for a long time, and the English Company had a great deal to do in attempting to suppress it. To give only one instance, it may be mentioned that in the early part of the eighteenth century, a notorious pirate chief, Angria of Gheria frequently appeared off Calicut and committed several depredations, as a result of which, he was frequently engaged in desperate sea fights with the Company's ships.

From having been one of the chief points in the struggle of centuries between various European Nations for the trade in pepper and other valuable commodities, "imperial Calicut" next grew into importance in connection with the ambitious schemes of conquest of Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan. On the 11th of April 1766, Hyder's force occupied the town and confined the Zamorin in his house without food. The incarceration was so severe that the Zamorin, was unable to perform even his religious ceremonies, and fearing greater disgrace, he set fire to his prison house with his own hand and died in the flames. It is unnecessary to enter into the details of the long war that the Mysorean rulers waged in their ineffectual attempts to conquer Malabar and Travancore. Suffice it to say that the town of Calicut saw a good deal of the struggle, until 1790, when Tippoo left Malabar and was destined never to enter it again. Fia Bartolomæo has left us some very lurid pictures of the barbarous methods that found favour with Tippu. In one place, the monk remarks of Tippu :—"His treatment of the people was brutal in the extreme. At Calicut, he hanged the mothers and then suspended the children from their necks."

By the Treaties of Seringapatam, dated 22nd February and 18th March 1792, Malabar finally passed into the hands of the British and the power of the Zamorins of Calicut, as independent Sovereigns vanished concurrently, "even as a tale that is told." The 18th of March 1793, was a red letter day in the history of Calicut, for on that day, Sir Robert Abercromby, Governor of Bombay, in accordance with a plan for the general Government of the ceded countries, read in presence of the gentlemen of the Civil Service present at Government House, Calicut, formerly the English Factory, a Proclamation appointing William Gamull Farmer,

Esquire, Supervisor and Chief Magistrate of the Province of Malabar. A battalion of Grenadiers was drawn up in two lines on the road leading from the General's encampment to Government House, and as he passed through these lines, the General was saluted with nineteen guns from six field-pieces. The Government of the Provinces having been thus formally and solemnly established, it was saluted by twenty-one guns. Mr. Augustus William Handley, Senior Assistant to the Supervisor, and, as such, Judge of the Court of Adalat at Calicut, also took the oaths necessary to his appointment. The years 1796 witnessed the final act in the fitful connection of the Danish nation with Calicut. In 1752, the Danes had established a Factory, adjoining the French Factory, but they had abandoned it when Tippu started his cruel crusade. When Malabar passed over to the British, the Danes claimed their Factory again, but the Governor-General rejected the claim. It was not until 1845, however, that the matter was decisively settled by the British Government paying down four lakhs of rupees for all the Danish claims in India. Where the Danish Factory formerly stood, we have now a Travellers' Bungalow. In 1806 an agreement was entered into with the Zamorin, in regard to the payment of the malikhana allowance (or one-fifth share of the revenues of their districts) which had been set apart at the time of the Cession for the maintenance of the Royal family. The allowance amounts to about Rs. 132,000 a year, and it is considered as "the security for the good and dutiful behaviour towards the Company's Government of each and every member of the *ragum* or family to which it may now and hereafter be payable." It is only fair to add that the Zamorins, having loyally accepted the great change in their destinies, have ever since cheerfully and faithfully discharged their obligations to the Power which supplanted them just a century ago.

"Imperial Calicut" of to-day is a vastly different place from that which Camoens has described for us in his entertaining pages, but places and institutions change so slowly, if at all they change, in the hoary and mysterious East that the antiquarian would not be disappointed were he to enquire to-day for the scenes once animated by the living presence of the early adventurers from Portugal, France, Holland, Denmark and England. There is a great future before, as there is a great past behind Calicut, and the day may come when it will be elevated to the position of an Imperial City, such as Camoens did not see even in his most roseate visions of national greatness.

ART. IV.—A HISTORY OF THE BENGAL HIGH COURT.

FROM THE TIME OF THE OLD SADAR AND SUPREME COURTS, TOGETHER
WITH NOTICES OF EMINENT JUDGES, BARRISTERS AND VAKILS.

(Continued from October, 1902.)

CHAPTER IV

A History of the High Court would not be complete without an account of the eminent persons who have distinguished themselves on its bench and at its bar. Eminence is a relative quality and admits of degrees. The highest eminence that is attainable by man is aimed at in the noble inspiration of "the famous Cowley."—

"What shall I do to be for ever known

And make the coming age my own"

Such eminence is very rare, indeed, and is not attained even by one in an age. Our standard of eminence, however, is not so high, and we shall not exclude a man from our list of eminent persons who has shown merit somewhat above the average, thereby distinguishing him from the ordinary run of Judges or practitioners. But however eminent a Judge may be, he will in most cases find it difficult to administer even-handed Justice, unless he is aided by an able and intelligent advocate. Indeed, the relation between the bench and the bar is such that the excellence of the one is dependent upon the excellence of the other. There was never a highly efficient bench that did not, at the same time exhibit a highly accomplished bar. Sulpicius was a Judge in the same city where Cicero was an advocate; a Mansfield decided the causes which an Erskine pleaded; and the chancellor Harby in France was contemporary with D'Aguessau. Wherever the bar is more powerful than the bench, the course of justice is not likely to run smooth, being impeded by shallows and sandbanks which are conquered by able but misleading advocacy. In such a case the usual order of things is reversed, for instead of the Judge ruling the Court, as it should be, the Advocate rules it. In order to preserve harmony and secure fair play, there must be intellectual equilibrium between the two branches of the profession. But the harm is not so great when the Bench is more powerful than the Bar, as where the Bar is more powerful than the Bench.

Of the gownsmen on the bench the Judges of the Supreme Court are entitled to first notice, they having, as it were, laid

the foundations of the grand edifice which ultimately took the name of "High Court." As for the Judges of the Sadar Court, though they claimed to have existed before, still as Judges properly so called and having had salaries attached to their posts as Judges, they came in after the Supreme Court Judges. Thus in point of precedence even as to time, the Judges of the Supreme Court justly claim the palm in preference to the Sadar Judges. They were also mostly picked men and were taken straight from the English bar with all the time honored traditions of Westminster Hall fresh in their memory.

Sir Elijah Impey heads the list of Judges of the Supreme Court, he being its first Chief Justice.* *Impey* was born at Hammersmith in the county of Middlesex on June 13th 1732.† He was the youngest son of *Elijah Impey, Esq.*, merchant. When a mere boy, *Impey* was sent to Westminster school, where he remained for over a decade. In 1752 he passed into Trinity College, Cambridge being at the same time entered as a student at Lincoln's Inn. He graduated B.A., in 1756, proceeding to M.A., three years after. While at Westminster, *Impey*‡ made the acquaintance of *Warren Hastings* who was his Junior by six months only. This school boy friendship lasted the longest and was only dissolved by death.§ Even in India where the relations between the Supreme Court and the Supreme Council were very strained, the two old friends did not altogether forget each other|| *Impey's* College career, though not very brilliant, was sufficiently creditable.¶ He was called to the bar in the very year in which he took his B.A. degree, and in the year following

* *Sir Edward West*, author of a treatise on *Exents* was the first Chief Justice of the Bombay Supreme Court, and *Sir Thomas Andrew Strange*, whose *Elements of Hindu Law* is so well known, the first Chief Justice of the Madras Supreme Court. *West's* tenure of office in the Bombay Court, however, was very short he being succeeded by *Sir Mathew* can see who presided in it from 1862 to 1866, so that the latter was practically the first Chief Justice.

† *Impey's* maternal grandfather, *James Frazer, L.L.D.* was the author of a *Life of Nadir Shah*.

‡ *William Cowper*, the Poet was also one of his school fellows. So were *Churchill*, *Colman* and *Cumberland*. *Southey*, in his *Life of Cowper*, speaks of his friendship with *Impey* at Westminster School, then under the able direction of *Dr. Nicol*.

§ Even death did not actually dissolve it for, as *Mac Farlane* says, "The friendship with *Hastings*, with the most familiar correspondence, continued undisturbed till *Impey's* own decease, and was then continued by *Hastings* to his widow and children." *Our Indian Empire*, Vol. p. 327, (1844).

|| *Sir J. W. Kaye*, in his famous article on *Sir Elijah Impey* said that in November 1779, when *Impey* had fallen ill, *Hastings* invited him to stay at his country-house at *Belvedere*.

¶ *Impey* was Junior Wrangler and Chancellor's medalist of his year.

was elected to a fellowship at Trinity. He practised with success* on the Western Circuits, and had made his mark at the bar when, on the recommendation of the then Attorney-General Mr. Thurlow (afterward Lord Thurlow) he was appointed first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court at Calcutta by Lord Chancellor Bathurst.

Impey † with his three colleagues landed in Bengal in October, 1774, but the Court did not commence its regular sittings until the expiry of that year. The same Act of Parliament which established the Supreme Court also established the Supreme Council with the Governor-General as its President. But the powers and duties of the two bodies were so ill defined that it was not long before there was a serious split between them. A reign of terror began and the administration of the country was greatly hampered. This state of things continued till the year 1780 when Hastings hit upon an expedient which had the effect of pouring oil over troubled waters and "overblowing theague fit of fear." In addition to the post which Impey already held as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Hastings appointed him to a Judgeship‡ in the Sadar Diwani Adalat on a salary of not less than Rs. 5,000§ a month. The effect of this expedient was weird and wonderful, and the fierce dissension, which had been raging so long at once subsided into a calm. Impey held his additional appointment for two years, when on its being disapproved by the Lord Chancellor he had to give it up and as a punishment for accepting such a salaried office he was recalled. This

* This we know from the *Memoirs* written by his son, Elijah Barwell Impey and published in 1846. This gentleman was like the great novelist, Thackeray, an Asiatic by birth, having been born in India in 1780 while his father was Chief Justice. Sir Elijah, as Dr. Buxsted says, was counsel on the side of His Royal Highness, the Duke of Cumberland, and Lady Grosvenor in that memorable *cum con* affair. He was also counsel for the East India Company before the House of Commons when in 1772 the Court of Directors were heard at the bar in support of objections to a Bill affecting their interests in Bengal. (*Dict. of National Biography*). At the bar Impey contracted a close friendship with Dunning (afterwards Lord Ashburton) who was the only advocate that was considered superior to him. (See Impey's *Memoirs*, chap. i.)

† Impey was knighted in April, 1774 shortly before his departure for India.

‡ This office Impey accepted on the 25th of October, 1780. On the 27th January following, he wrote to Barwell,—"the Sudder Dewanee Ahsaulat is placed under my management. It will be no agreeable thing to me but as it was the Governor's Act I am contented." (Impey's *Memoirs* chap. VIII). Indeed Impey compromised himself by accepting that post which tenable as it was at the pleasure of the Company, was held to be incompatible with the independence which he was intended to occupy as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. (Liber's *Governments of India* p. 58). Ultimately, the Sadar Judgeship proved very disagreeable to Impey.

§ See Mr. Beveridge's *Trial of Maharaja Nanda Kumar* Introduction, p. 3.

¶ In his famous Speech at the bar of the House of Commons on 4th February, 1788, said, "On the 27th of January, 1783, I received a letter from

order, however, was not intended to be peremptorily carried out, and, as a matter of fact, Impey held his seat in the Supreme Court till the 16th of November, 1783, when he formally made over charge to the Council.* He did not, however, leave India till the 3rd of December, 1783, and arrived in England in June following. But he was not permitted to pass his latter days in peace. In 1787, Sir Gilbert Elliot (afterwards Lord Minto) moved in the House of Commons to impeach him, whereupon a Committee was appointed to receive evidence on the subject. Many respectable witnesses were examined, among whom was Mr. Thomas Farrer† who had defended Nanda Coomar‡ in 1775. Impey made his defence at the bar of the House of Commons on the 4th of February 1788§. The speech which he delivered on the occasion was

the Earl of Streboune, dated the 8th of July 1782, which conveyed his Majesty's command to me to return to the Council, for the purpose of answering a charge specified in an address which had been laid before His Majesty in consequence of a note of the 3d of May 1782. That note related only to the acceptance of an office not agreeable to the true intent and meaning of the Act 13, ser. III. Mr. (afterwards Sir Philip) Elliot had accused Impey "of compromising the dispute between the Council and the Council by accepting an office with a salary" (*Nandamar and Farrer*, Vol. II. pp. 233-234). Indeed, Francis was one of Impey's bitterest foes. He was not fit to say in the House of Commons, Sir Elijah is not fit to sit in judgment on any matter where I am interested, nor am I fit to sit in judgment on him." (See John Nicholl's *Revolutions and Reflections*). This open avowal could be no worse than Junius-like.

* *Annals of the Bench*, vol. II. p. 234.

† Farrer then held a seat in the House of Commons, and was examined as a witness standing in his place as a Member. His evidence in nearly every particular confirmed what Impey had himself said. (*Our Indian Empire*, vol. I. p. 292). Farrer had returned to England in March, 1779. (*Id.* p. 71).

‡ Of the many important criminal cases which were decided by Sir Elijah Impey and his Colleagues the trial of Nanda Coomar was the first and foremost. It lasted for some days and ended in the conviction of the great accused. The charge which the Chief Justice delivered to the jury on the occasion was well worthy of his reputation as an able and learned Judge. The Jury brought in an unanimous verdict of "guilty," and the sentence of the Court was death, which, as the English law then stood was the punishment prescribed for the offence of forgery. Nanda Coomar was hanged on the 5th of August, 1775.

The famous "Pina case" was another typical case tried by Sir Elijah, but unlike the trial of Nanda Coomar, it was of a civil nature. In that case the question was a very important one, no doubt—arose as to the right of the Supreme Court to try actions against the judicial officers of the E. I. Company for acts done in the exercise of what they believed or said they believed, to be their legal right. The Court gave judgment with heavy damages to a native plaintiff in an action against the officers of the Patna Provincial Court, acting in its judicial capacity. Impey's judgment in this case was made one of the grounds of impeachment against him but is forcibly defended by Sir James FitzJames Stephen against the criticism of Mill and others, as being not only technically sound, but substantially just. (Holt's *Government of India*, pp. 57-58). The case was taken up in appeal to His Majesty in Council, but it was ultimately dismissed for want of prosecution on the 3rd of April, 1789. (*Impey's Memoirs*, p. 346).

§ Impey resigned his office of Chief Justice of Bengal in 1787, which, however, with its salary he held for four years after leaving India. So that as a matter of fact and law, Chambers did not become Chief Justice until 1791. (*Echoes*, p. 74).

well worthy of him as a lawyer and orator and had a telling effect on the House which refused to impeach him.*

Macaulay savagely attacked† Impey, representing him as "a fiend in human shape, and a very contemptible one." This, no doubt, is the language of indignation when passion has got the better of reason. Sir James Stephen, on the other hand, has nobly vindicated his character. This well-known judge and jurist observes "There was nothing exceptionally great or good about him, but I see as little ground from his general character and behaviour to believe him guilty of the horrible crimes imputed to him as to suspect any of my own colleagues of such enormity."‡ Impey

* After the termination of these proceedings in May, 1788, Impey called upon Lord Mansfield who, shaking him cordially by the hand, exclaimed, "So Sir Elijah, you have passed safely over the coals." (Impey's *Memoirs*, p. 295, note.)

† This attack was based principally on the ground of his having very unfairly tried and convicted Nanda Comar. But later writers have differed from the great essayist and have given it as their most deliberate opinion that Nanda Comar had had quite a fair trial. Not only Sir James Stephen, but also Sir Henry Maine have acquitted Impey of the charge which had been laid at his door by Macaulay. Maine in his *Village Communities* thus observes. "It is true that, as regards the case which Lord Macaulay has sketched with such dramatic force, Nuncomar appears to me upon the records of the proceedings to have had quite as fair a trial as any Englishman of that day indicted for felony would have had in England and to have been treated with even more consideration." (Ibid. ii, p. 38). Even a few months after the trial and execution of Nanda Comar, the great lawyer, Dunning, in a letter dated the 5th January, 1776, thus wrote to Impey "The publication of the trial has been of use, as it has obtained abundance of ridiculous and groundless stories. I see nothing in the proceedings to disapprove of except that you seem to have wasted more time in the discussion of the privileges of ambassadors than so ridiculous a claim deserved." It was maliciously circulated, among other things, that both Sir William Blackstone and Lord Mansfield had condemned the proceedings in the case as illegal, the latter having it was said, called the execution "a legal murder." Impey in his defence proved beyond all doubt that these statements were utterly false and had no foundation in truth.

‡ *Nuncomar and Impey*, vol. i, p. 25. Impey himself could not help shuddering at the enormity of the charge which had been trumped up against him. He in his memorable speech said: "If the promises are true, then I am guilty, not of misdemeanour, but of murder. I am guilty of a murder of the basest, foulest and most aggravated nature. From such premises that is the only true conclusion. I do not decline it. It would have been justice to have drawn it. My life would then have been forfeit, had I been found guilty; it would have been mercy to have sacrificed that life as an atonement for these enormous crimes, which, if I am convicted of (them), or am to be under the public imputation of having perpetrated (them), would become a burden too intolerable to be dragged to a distant grave." Unlike his friend Hastings who was subjected to a very long and painful trial, which, though it ended favourably, left him a poor man, Sir Elijah's Prosecution or persecution was of but very short duration, and he continued to retain the friendship and regard of his earlier acquaintances, and of some of the most eminent and best men of the day. At the general election in 1790 he was chosen to represent the Borough of New Romney. He sat in the House of Commons till about

was like many other judges. "He seems to have had an excellent education,* both legal and general, to have been a man of remarkable energy and courage, and a great deal of rather common place ability."† He was a good lawyer, as appears from the many learned and sensible decisions which he passed while presiding at the Supreme Court. Indeed, he possessed many of the qualities of a judge, but it seems that at times he proved a little too impulsive and did not pay sufficient heed to the "pauser reason." He was also an expert hand at drafting and law-making,—a fact which is abundantly proved by the excellent code of laws which he prepared, while he held the office of Judge of the Sadar Diwani Adalat. Although his code fell considerably short of Macaulay's master-piece of criminal legislation, still there could be no doubt that it did yeoman service to the cause of justice in Bengal. Indeed, his code was the Bengal judicial officers' *vade mecum* for many long years.

Faults Impey had,—and what human being has ever been without some—but there were many relieving features in his character which had the effect of throwing them in the background. He enjoyed a wide popularity with all classes of people with whom he came into contact. His son and biographer does not seem to over-colour the picture when he says:—"Among the natives of Calcutta and its vicinity where he spent so many of the prime years of his life, he was exceedingly popular; nor had the pleasant recollection of him faded away many years after his departure.‡ It was also stated that several addresses were presented to Sir Elijah when he retired from Indian service. These addresses were given by *all* the Armenians, *all* the Hindus, and *all* the free merchants. The address of the merchants had this peculiarity that the gentleman whose name stood first on it was Mr. Macraline, the brother-in-law of Philip Francis, the bitterest enemy of Impey and Hastings.§ All these circumstances plainly show

1797 when he retired into private life, in the meantime a considerable part of his fortune which he had invested in the French funds had been lost in the troubles which attended the Revolution in France, and he found that he was not quite in a position to live decently in London. He accordingly, parted with his town house and removed to a country-house, Newick Park, in Sussex which he rented of Lord Vernon. There was not a man living in that distinguished neighbourhood, where good men were not, and are not scarce, more generally esteemed for kindness of heart and for all the social virtues. (*Our Indian Empire*, vol. i. p. 327.)

* Impey was well versed in French and he wrote and read Persian. *Dict. of National Biography*.

† See *Nuncomar and Impey*, vol. i, p. 34.

‡ Impey's *Memoirs*, p. 273, 2nd Ed., 1857.

§ *Our Indian Empire*, vol. i, p. 285 and note.

that Impey was held, in very great esteem and enjoyed a very enviable popularity

There are two portraits* of Sir Elijah in the High Court one by Lilly Kettle, and the other by Zoffany. Both of these are well-executed, and do great credit to the artists who did them. When the Victoria Memorial Hall becomes an accomplished fact, out of these two excellent pieces of painting one is as Lord Curzon hopes, likely to grace that great National institution.

Impey† reached a good old age and died at Newick Park in Sussex, on the 1st of October, 1809, and was buried at his native village of Hammeismith,‡ where a plain tablet marks the spot where he lies.

Sir Robert Chambers.—Robert Chambers was one of the three puisnes who were appointed to the Supreme Court at Calcutta on its first establishment. He was born at Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1737,§ where his father was an attorney-at-law, and was educated with the two distinguished brothers, John Scott and William Scott, who as Lord Eldon and Lord Stowell afterwards shone as bright luminaries of law. He graduated B. A. in 1785, and M. A. in 1761. Chambers studied law at Middle Temple and obtained the degree of B. C. L. in 1765. Before he came out to India, he had distinguished himself by his legal law. He was a member of University College, Oxford, and on the retirement of Sir William Blackstone|| in 1762 was appointed Vinerian Professor of law. He had also pretty good practice at the

* The author of "*Echoes from Old Calcutta*" has noticed only the portrait by Lilly Kettle. This portrait was executed in 1776 shortly after the trial of Nanda Comar; the other after Sir Elijah had left this country.

† Impey's Park at Calcutta is recalled by Park Street and the main avenue thereof by Middleton Row. See Sir A. Colvin's *Life of his father, John Russell Colvin*, in the *Rulers of India* series, chap. ii.

‡ See "*Echoes from Old Calcutta*" p. 73.

§ The great historian, Edward Gibbon, was also born in the same year.

|| Blackstone was called to the bar in 1746, made a Judge in 1771, and died in 1780.

¶ Hickey, whose *Gazette* was the first English newspaper in Bengal, if not in all India, nicknamed him "Sir Viner Plant" and "Lumber" by way of a sling at the judicial weakness which he showed in the Trial of Nanda Comar. But Hickey, scurrilous as he was, did not stand unique in this respect, in fact, all Calcutta knew this weak-kneed Judge under some such nicknames. In England, too, this trait in his character was not unknown, and so we find that some very indifferent lines which Mrs. Thrale wrote on his portrait by Reynolds at Streatham have this suggestive beginning:—

"In this luminous portrait requiring no shade

See Chambers' soft character sweetly displayed."

1 ("Echoes from Old Calcutta," p. 83 note).

bar, so that when in 1758 he was offered the post of Attorney General in Jamaica, he declined it as inadequate to his pretensions. In fact, he was the only one of the first four Judges of the Supreme Court who may be said to have had an English reputation prior to coming to this country. Chambers had also the distinction, a very proud distinction, no doubt,—of having been a friend and associate of Dr. Johnson. Indeed this literary dictator of the eighteenth century was very fond of Chambers, as may be seen in the frequent reference to him in Boswell's famous work. When Chambers sailed for India, the fact was communicated to "Bozzy" in a letter which alone should confer immortality on Chambers' name, as it then appeared to be linked with that of one * who as a poet and as a man, is familiarly loved wherever English is spoken. The Doctor's letter ran as follows:—"Chambers, you find, is gone far, and poor Goldsmith is gone much further. He died of a fever, exasperated, as I believe, by the fear of distress. He raised money and squandered it by every artifice of acquisition, and folly of expense, but let not his failings be remembered; he was a very great man."† The good Doctor also favoured Chambers with a letter ‡ of introduction to Warren Hastings who looked upon the wise old sage as his Mentor, and often wrote to him, though he was seldom written to in reply.

Unlike Hyde and Le Maistre, Chambers proved a very valuable colleague to Chief Justice Impey. Even Sir Gilbert Elliot, though, referring to his conduct at the trial of Nanda Comar, he somewhat scoffingly spoke of him as "a man of mild and flexible character" § could not but admit that he was "of great knowledge and integrity."|| Indeed, his legal learning was of a very high order. But with all his learning

* Goldsmith, though he "talked like poor Poll, wrote like an Angel." This "the greatest and most generous of all men," as Thackeray calls him, died on April 17, 74. Burke, on hearing the news, burst into tears. Reynolds threw away his pencil for the day. Johnson felt the blow deeply, and wrote of it to Boswell that Sir Joshua thought that he owed about £2,000, adding, "Was ever poet so trusted before!" (See Washington Irving's account of Goldsmith's death).

† See *Echoes from Old Calcutta*, pp. 93, 94.

‡ This letter was dated the 30th of March, 1774, see *Echoes*, p. 93.

§ Fox, also, alluding to the same matter, said that Chambers "had acted very meekly." The latter had suggested that the indictment should be laid under an Act of Queen Elizabeth, which did not make felony a capital offence; but as the other three Judges all agreed that the said Act was obsolete and that the Act of George II. and the Regulating Act left them no choice, binding them to administer English law in Calcutta as it was administered in England, he gave in, sat through the whole trial, and at last concurred in the sentence, and approved of whatever was done. (*Our Indian Empire*, vol. i, pp. 168-279 note).

|| See *Parliamentary History*, xxvii, pp. 433.

Chambers was anything but a strong judge. We have already seen that at the trial of Nanda Comar he had not shown sufficient strength of character. The suggestion which he had made was quite reasonable under the peculiar circumstances of the case, but when he found that it was not in accord with the views of his colleagues he quietly gave in and agreed to hold the trial under the Act which made forgery a capital offence. Some such weakness was also shown in the notorious *crim. con.* action which M. Le Grand had brought against Mr. Philip Francis. Mrs. Le Grand, the wife of the prosecutor, was a remarkable lady. She was the most beautiful woman of her time, and was highly admired for her personal graces, for the sweetness of her temper, and for her fascinating accomplishments. She attracted the attention of Mr. Philip Francis* who was of a loose character and did not lead quite a moral life. One night, this gentleman, by means of a rope-ladder, got into her apartment. After he had been there for about three quarters of an hour an alarm was given whereupon Mr. Francis came down from the lady's chamber by the same ladder and escaped, but his companion Mr. afterwards Sir George) Sney was seized by M. Le Grand's Jemadar.† The injured husband brought an action against Mr. Francis‡ in the Supreme Court. The case came on for hearing before Sir Elijah Impey, Sir Robert Chambers and Mr Justice Hyde. The accused was defended by Mr. Tilghman, a young but very able counsel, Mr. Charles Newman conducting the prosecution. On the trial of this cause, Sir R Chambers thought, that, as no criminality had been proved, no damages should be given. But Sir Elijah expressed a different opinion, which was concurred in by Mr. Justice Hyde. The Chief Justice held that although no criminal intercourse had been proved, yet that the wrong done by Mr. Francis to Mr. le Grand in entering his wife's apartment in the night, and thereby injuring her reputation, ought to be compensated with liberal damages. This unanimous opinion of his colleagues was too much for Sir Robert to contend against, so he changed his own views and proposed to give 30,000 rupees as damages, Mr. Justice Hyde who was as upright a Judge as ever sat on any bench, and who had an implacable hatred to those who indulged in the offence imputed to Mr. Francis, was for giving 1,00,000 rupees. Sir Elijah thought the amount proposed by Sir Robert too small, and that pro-

* Francis had his wife then living, but she was generally in England. Mrs Francis died in April 1806, a month or two before her husband was knighted. *Echoes*, p. 178.

† See *Echoes*, p. 213.

‡ Le Grand had challenged Francis, but the latter declined making some excuses. She also was proceeded against. *Echoes*, pp. 213, 215.

posed by Mr. Hyde too large. He, therefore, suggested a middle course of 50,000 rupees. This proposal was acquiesced in by his two colleagues, and judgment was given, accordingly*. Mr. Samuel Tolfrey, who was under Sheriff of Calcutta at the time of the trial and execution of Nundomar, and who was attorney to Francis in the *crim con* cause, however, is said to have declared before the Committee of the House of Commons in the Impey matter that the verdict in that cause was given contrary to the opinion of Sir Robert Chambers. But in this he seems to have been mistaken. What Mr. Nicholls has stated appears to be the correct state of affairs†. Chambers was the second Chief Justice‡ of the Calcutta Supreme Court, he having succeeded Sir Elijah Impey. Mr. Longueville Clarke in the Preface to his very useful edition of the *Rules and Orders of the Supreme Court of Judicature in Bengal*, says that Sir Robert Chambers was appointed Chief Justice in 1791§. He may have been so appointed|| in that year, but there is no doubt that he had discharged the duties of Chief Justice ever since Sir Elijah formally made over charge of his office. About the time when Impey was appointed to the Sadar Diwani Adalat, Chambers was given the appointment of Commissioner of the Dutch Settlement of Chinsura on its being captured by the English. Though the two appointments strongly resembled each other, still nothing was said against Chambers' conduct in accepting the additional post to which a salary was attached, while the Home authorities came down thundering upon Impey for doing a similar act under similar circumstances. This shows very clearly how differently the two officers fared

* *Recollection and Reflections* by John Nicholls, Esq., M.P., as given in Mr. Mac Farlane's *Our Indian Empire*, vol. i, pp. 189, 220, note.

† See *Our Indian Empire*, vol. i, p. 293. Mr. Francis too was under the impression that Sir Robert had not put in his verdict of the Court. This may account for the postscript annexed afterwards shown by him to Sir Robert.

‡ When Chambers was at the Chief Justice, Mr. Edwards (Sir Philip) Francis writes on to congratulate him on his advancement. His feling words were "Congratulations, dearly earned, and so well deserved" (See *Edwards*, p. 214). Sir Robert's brother, William Chambers, a great specialist in the matters of Hindustan, became Interpreter to the Supreme Court at Calcutta. (*Dictionary of National Biography*).

§ Dr. Beames thus reconciles this apparent inconsistency:—"In November, 1787, Impey resigned his office which (with its salary) he held for 12 years at a little over India. Chambers was not gazetted Chief Justice in his place till 22nd January, 1791, and so remained on 31st September, in the same year. The *Calcutta Chronicle* says that a salute was fired from the Ramparts of Fort William on the occasion." (See *Edwards*, p. 214 note). Thus it seems that though he did the duties of Chief Justice in addition to his own, he got only the pay of his substantive post as a Puisne Judge until January, 1791. Impey's son and biographer, however, says that Chambers' appointment did not officially take place until 1789 more than five years after Sir Elijah's arrival in England. (Impey's *Memoirs*, Chap. xvi).

|| Chambers was knighted four years after his arrival in India. (*Dictionary of National Biography*).

with the powers that be. But after he had triumphantly met the charges which had been laid against him in the House of Commons, Impey was treated with considerable indulgence almost verging on partiality. Sir Robert proved a popular Chief Justice. In fact, considering his deep knowledge of law and his exemplary good manners, he could not have been otherwise. He presided at the Court till the 1st of August 1799, when he retired to enjoy his *otium cum dignitate*. Chambers was also President of the Asiatic Society to which office he was elected in succession to Lord Teignmouth in 1797. Thus, he was the third President, the founder, Sir William Jones himself, having been the first.

The last days of Chambers's life were passed in or near the French metropolis where he died on 9th May 1803*. His widow brought over his body to England, and it was buried in the Temple Church, where a monument by Nollekens was placed to his memory. Lady Chambers survived him till the 15th of April, 1839, when she died at Brighton, aged about eighty-one years.†

Both Mr. Justice Hyde and Sir Robert Chambers had made notes of cases decided in the Supreme Court from the year 1775 to 1798, on the death of the former his note-book was taken charge of by the latter, Sir Robert had a mind to arrange both his and Hyde's notes and publish the whole, but he did not live to execute his design; on his death both the note-books came into the possession of his widow, Lady Chambers, who, when Sir Charles Harcourt Chambers, nephew of Sir Robert, was appointed a Puisne Judge on the establishment of the Supreme Court at Bombay, gave them to him. But on Sir Charles' death, which took place on the 13th of October 1827, they again came into her hands, and she delivered them to Sir William Oldnall Russell, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court at Calcutta. On Sir William Russell's death they came into the custody of his successor, Sir Edward Ryan. Both Mr. Smoult and Mr. Norton were permitted to use these manuscript notes‡ in the preparation of their respective collections of orders and cases §

* See *Echoes* p. 71 note.

† See *Echoes* p. 95.

‡ Lord Curzon in his speech on the *Contents of the Victoria Memorial Hall*, February 26th 1901, said that the Bar Library of the High Court contains 14 volumes of the manuscript notes of cases in the hand writing of Mr. Justice Hyde, as well as his transcript of the evidence of Warren Hastings and Barwell at the trial of Nanda Comar and his entry of the order for the execution of that ill-fated person. His Lordship also believes that in the High Court is the original bond alleged to have been given by Balakrishna to Nanda Comar, which was pronounced a forgery.

§ See Preface to Smoult and Ryan's *Rules and Orders*

Chambers was also an author and wrote a "Treatise on Estates and Tenures." He was very fond of books, and possessed a large library, especially rich in oriental works. His collection of Sanscrit manuscripts was purchased for the Royal Library at Berlin.*

Sir John Anstruther — John Anstruther† was born on the 24th of March 1753. He was the second son of Sir John Anstruther, Baronet, and, as his father was a substantial nobleman,‡ received a good liberal education. It was at Glasgow University that young Anstruther was brought up under Professor Millan. He adopted law as his profession and was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1779. He practised chiefly before the House of Lords in Scotch Appeals, and was considered a sound and well-read lawyer. But he did not confine himself to law, he also mixed in politics and entered Parliament as member for Cockermouth in 1793, which seat he held till the year 1796. He was an active supporter§ of the great statesman Fox and was one of the managers appointed to conduct the impeachment of Warren Hastings. Sir Robert Chambers having resigned his office of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court at Calcutta in 1799, Mr. Anstruther, was appointed to succeed him, on which occasion he was knighted. Sir John proved a good Judge and his decisions were marked by good sense and good law. He presided at the Court till the

* See *Dictionary of National Biography*.

† This gentleman should not be confounded with Sir Alexander Anstruther, son of Sir Robert Anstruther, Baronet, who was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn and published the Reports of Exchequer cases from the year 1792 to 1797 in three volumes, these Reports are of great value to the English lawyer and were reprinted for a second edition in 1817. Mr. Anstruther came out to India in 1798, and was appointed Advocate General at Madras in 1803, on 10th March 1819 he succeeded Sir James Mackintosh as Recorder of Bombay, when he received the honour of knighthood. He continued to hold this high post till the time of his death which took place at Mauritius on 16th July, 1819. While on his way to this country he had written a small work on 'Light, Heat and Electricity.' See *Calcutta Monthly Journal*, August 1819.)

‡ Mr. Anstruther's family have ranked as Barons of Scotland for upwards of 700 years. The first Baronet was a Lord of Session in Scotland, with the title of Lord Anstruther. The subject of this short memoir was the fifth Baronet, who succeeded his brother in the year 1808. (See Debreit's *Peerage, Baronage and Companionship*).

§ On the third reading of Pitt's Declaration Bill on the 14th of March, 1788, Mr. Anstruther a dog with Sir Gray Cooper, Wynham, Francis and several others, spoke strongly against the whole Bill, endeavouring to show, by various arguments, that it was unparliamentary, illogical and illegal. Scott (afterwards Lord Eldon), Addington (afterwards Lord Simonds), Lord Mulgrave, and others defended the Bill and the motives and plans of the framer; and the third reading was carried, though by a majority of only 51, which at this time was called a small majority. (See *Our Indian Empire*, vol. i, p. 6). Thus, it would seem that Anstruther had a voice in the Council of the nation and was justly considered a man of note

22nd of February 1806,* when he resigned and sailed for his "old country."

Sir John's learning was not confined to law and politics, he was also a general scholar and possessed literary attainments of a high order. In fact, he was deemed quite fit to fill the presidential chair which had been occupied by such men as Sir William Jones and Lord Teignmouth in the Asiatic Society of Bengal. This high honorary office he held for some years with credit and honour.

Immediately on his arrival in England, Sir John was sworn of the Privy Council, and re-entered Parliament as member for the Kilkenny district of burghs. In 1808, as we have already stated, he succeeded to his father's baronetcy, to which he was fully entitled; and died in London on the 26th of January, 1811.

Sir Henry Russell.—Henry Russell was born at Dover on the 8th of August, 1751. He was the third son of Michael Russell who was a man of some rank and position. Young Russell was first educated at Charter-house, whence he removed to Queen's College, Cambridge. He graduated B. A. in 1772, proceeding to M. A. in 1775, when, it would appear, he was appointed by Lord Bathurst to a Commissionership in Bankruptcy. By this time he had been admitted a member of Lincoln's Inn, at which he was called to the bar in 1783.

In 1797 he was appointed a Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, on which occasion, as it was then customary† he was knighted. The new judge reached his destination on the 28th of May, 1798, where he took a house in what is now called after him, Russell Street‡. Here Miss Rose Aylmer§ on the death of her father, Lord Aylmer, and her mother having married Mr. Howell Price, came to her aunt, Lady Russell, but she came only to lay her bones in this strange land, for she died on the 2nd of March, 1800.

Sir Henry Russell was a good judge and was held in high

* The portrait of Sir John Anstruther which is in the High Court has on it the year 1805. Very likely it had been executed some time before the Chief Justice actually resigned his seat.

† In the 18th century the crown made it a rule to knight every new Puisne Judge, on his appointment, at the same time introducing the custom of addressing the Justices in Court by the title of "Your Lordship." (See *A Book about Lawyers* by John Girdy Jeaffreson vol. ii. 37) But neither Mr. John Hyde nor Mr. Le Narchi was knighted, either at the time of their appointment as Puisne Judges of the Supreme Court at Calcutta or afterwards, this shows that the rule above referred to was passed after the year 1774.

‡ See *Calcutta Review*, December 1852.

§ This beautiful girl of sweet sixteen is better known as the beloved of that great writer, Walter Savage Landor than as the daughter of Lord Aylmer. (See *Echoes from Old Calcutta*, pp. 337, 338) Her memory is perpetuated by her lover in a sweet little Poem which bears her name.

esteem, so that on the retirement of Sir John Anstruther he was promoted to the Chief Justiceship on the 12th of May 1806. He proved a very able chief, as he had already proved himself a very good Puisne, and did even-handed Justice without distinction of creed, colour or caste. His impartial character was best shown in a case which attracted much attention at the time. John Grant a cadet of the East India Company, having been charged with maliciously setting fire to a native's hut, was brought up for trial before the Chief Justice. Evidence was gone into and it was satisfactorily proved that the charge was true and well founded. Upon this Sir Henry convicted the accused and in sentencing him to death, said:—"the natives are entitled to have their characters, property, and lives protected, and as long as they enjoy that privilege from us, they give their affection and allegiance in return,* Wise words those, and they deserve to be written in characters of gold. But, unfortunately, for this down trodden country they are sometimes forgotten by our judges.

Courage, according to Jethro, is another attribute of a good judge; and this quality, too, Sir Henry possessed in an eminent degree. Henry St. George Tucker, a high official in the service of the Honourable East India Company, was hauled up before the Chief Justice on a very ugly charge,—it was one of an attempted rape. The public were in great suspense as to the result of the trial, seeing that the accused was not a man of the ordinary stamp, but the Chief Justice was firm as a rock, and on being convinced, both legally and morally, that the charge was *bona-fide* and well bottomed, did not hesitate to do as strict justice as the gravity of the case required. He sentenced the accused to six months imprisonment and to pay a fine of four thousand rupees. Sir Henry was created a Baronet in 1812, after which he remained at his post not so much as a full twelve months, resigning it on the 9th of November 1813.

On the 10th day of the month following, at a public meeting in the Town Hall, he was presented with addresses† from the European and native residents, the latter comparing his attributes "with those of the great King Nooshirvan the Just."‡ Writing to him privately on 8th November 1813, the Governor-General, Lord Moira, spoke of his "able, upright and dignified administration of Justice," and like testimony to his merits was formally recorded in a general

* See *Asiatic Register* 18. 8.

† There is a portrait of Sir Henry Russell, by George Chinnery, in the High Court, Calcutta. It has on it the year 1812

‡ See *Calcutta Gazette* December 1812

letter from the Bengal Government to the Court of Directors dated the 7th December, 1813. The retired Chief Justice left Calcutta two days later, and on his return to England, the Honourable East India Company whom he had so well served for nearly seventeen years, awarded him a pension of £2000 a year. On the 27th of June 1816, he was sworn a member of the Privy Council. The remaining years of his life were mainly spent at his country house, Swallowfield Park Reading, where he died on 18th January 1836*.

Sir Edward Hyde East.—Edward Hyde East, the eldest son of Edward East, first saw the light of heaven on the 9th of September, 1764, not, however, in the bright little Island of Great Britain, but in the distant island of Jamaica, where his grandfather, Captain John East, had obtained a fairly large estate. But though born so far away, he was brought up in "Merry old England." East studied law at the Inner Temple and was called to the bar on the 10th November 1786, after which he joined the King's Bench. As he was a painstaking young man, and had ample leisure at his command he took to reporting cases decided in that Court. In this labour of love he found an able and willing co-adjutor in Mr. Durnford, † who like him was also a beginner in the profession. The Term Reports, as these Reports were called, commenced from 1785 and extended up to the close of the eighteenth century. But here they did not stop for good, inasmuch as East alone continued them, commencing from the initial year of the next century, and his single handed labours covered the period during which Lord Kenyon was Lord Chief Justice. All these Reports are of very great value and find place in the lower shelves of almost every well-known lawyer's library. Speaking of them Marvin says, "No English Reports are oftener cited in American Courts than these." By these Reports which were quite in touch with the profession as well as by "Pleas of the crown, or a general Treatise on the Principles and Practice of Criminal Law," which he published in 1803, and also by 'a Report of the Cases of Sir Francis Burdett against the Right Honourable Charles Abbot,' which appeared in 1811; East made a name which did him yeoman's service in raising his position at the bar.

When East had thus established his reputation as a lawyer,‡ the Chief Justiceship of the Supreme Court at Cal-

* *Dictionary of National Biography.*

† Our Mr. Durnford was clerk to Mr. Justice Le Maitre. He afterwards returned to England and was examined as a witness by the Committee of the House of Commons which sat to take evidence in the matter of the charges brought against Sir Elijah Impey by Sir Gilbert Elliot. See *Our Indian Empire*, vol. I, p. 293.

‡ East was not only a lawyer, he was also a politician. He sat in the Parliament of 1792, and steadily supported Pitt.

cutta fell vacant in consequence of the retirement of Sir Henry Russell. The post, high as it was, was offered to East, and he readily accepted the offer as well worthy of his pretensions. Indeed the post was one of great honour and it was also an enticing one in points of emolument. As was customary at the time, the newly appointed Chief Justice received the honour of Knighthood at the hands of the Prince Regent, after which he started for his destination in the Far East, which he reached in November 1813. As the new Chief Justice was a sound lawyer and was well versed both in text-law and case-law, it was not long before he proved himself an excellent administrator of Justice. In 1815* he recorded an able minute stating the views of the Supreme Court as to how far English law was applicable to India. This minute he put in evidence when on the 9th of March, 1830, he gave his deposition before the Select Committee of the House of Lords, which was then inquiring into East Indian affairs in preparation for the Charter Act of 1833.† Almost on the heels of this minute, Sir Hyde East proposed that a general law should be passed extending all past statutes from the 13 Geo. I, inclusive (in continuation of former provisions), and all future statutes of England to India, leaving it discretionary to the Supreme Court to exclude such as could not be applicable to the condition of the country. His proposal, however, was not adopted, but some of the evils complained of by him, in consequence of the English Statutes not extending to this country, were remedied by Mr. Wynne, who introduced into Parliament the Act 5 Geo. IV c. 74, for improving the administration of Criminal Justice in the East Indies, and also the Act 9, Geo. IV. c. 73, for the relief of Insolvent Debtors.‡

Sir Hyde East having had at heart the good of the country in which his lot was cast, it is not to be wondered at that he soon ingratiated himself into the favour and respect of the people. His was not a popularity that was sought after, it came, as it were, of its own accord, unlike some very over-scrupulous Judges, Sir Hyde never failed to take part in movements for the advancement and well-being of the native community. He was greatly interested in the subject of the education of the natives and was mainly instrumental in the

* In this memorable year, Sir Thomas Andrew Strange, the first Chief Justice of the Madras Supreme Court, retired towards its close, and was succeeded by Sir Edmund Stanley.

† See *Nunomiar and Inteq.* vol ii, p. 31.

‡ See Preface to Smoult and Ryan's *Rules and Orders*. The charter Act 3 and 4 Wm. IV. c. 85, has now enabled the legal legislature to extend to this country the benefit of all English Statutes, and in exercise of this power many such Statutes have been so extended.

establishment of the Hindu College. Indeed, he was a principal founder of that College, which was opened in 1817 for the promotion of liberal education in India. This eminent service did not go unrewarded. The native inhabitants of Calcutta caused a statue to be raised * in 1821 as a mark of their sense of gratitude for his disinterested act. In the Meeting at which that Resolution was come to, above Rs. 12,000 were immediately subscribed and it was proposed that the statue should be executed by the chisel of Bacon or some other eminent artist.† But, as a matter of fact, it was done in marble by Chantry and was placed in the Grand Jury room of the old Supreme Court, now, it graces the present High Court Building, where it stands on the first floor facing the staircase on the southern side. It contains the following inscription :—

‘To Sir Edward Hyde East, Chief Justice
of the Supreme Court, Bengal,
A principal founder of the Hindu College
For promoting liberal education
in India.
The native inhabitants of Calcutta
have caused this statue to be
raised A. D. 1821.

Amidst his onerous duties Sir Hyde East found time to prepare a valuable series of notes of cases decided in the Supreme Court at Calcutta. These notes were originally placed at the disposal of Mr Morley by the learned Judge himself, and on his death, his son Sir James Buller East, M. P., kindly permitted him to print them *in extenso*. They contain many most important decisions on points of native law, and questions relating to the Jurisdiction at the Court.‡ Even time, which destroys every mundane thing, does not seem to have affected their popularity, for up to this time they are often quoted by Judges with approbation. Indeed, they are of very great use to every Indian lawyer. In the well-known case of *Beebe Mittra*,§ Sir Edward Ryan observed that Chief Justice East was very well versed, not only in the law of the Court, but also the general law.

* See *Bengal Obituary* (1848) p. 269, where, however, it is erroneously stated that the statue was put in the Town Hall.

† See *The Asiatic Journal*, vol. xiv, p. 89.

‡ See *Morley's Administration*, p. 335.

§ This case was decided by Chief Justice Sir William Oldnall Russell on the 22nd October 1832, who held that the Supreme Court had general ecclesiastical jurisdiction within Calcutta, and by virtue whereof granted Proventes of Wills of Hindus who left property in it. Of the two Judges who sat with him Justice Franks concurred with him but Justice Ryan dissented though with considerable hesitation.

Indeed, Sir Hyde was a thorough master of law, practically as well as theoretically. The leading case of *Cassinath Bysack vs. Hurro Soondery Dasse** was decided by him in December, 1814. In that case the point was settled up to the Privy Council that a Will made by a Hindu during his minority was null and void in law. That case also determined, that in the matter of a Hindu Widow succeeding to the estate of her deceased husband, no distinction should be made between moveable and immoveable property, and that the interest taken by her was only an interest for life, whether the property inherited by her was movable or immovable.

Sir Hyde East presided at the Supreme Court for nearly a decade, retiring on the 18th of July, 1822. After he had made over charge, a triglot address, for it was written in English, Bengali and Persian, was presented to him in a crowded meeting in which the, then, leaders of Hindu Society, namely, Hari Mohan Thakoor, Gopi Mohan Deb, and Radha Madhab Bannerjee, took prominent part. The address was read by Radha Kanta Deb,† and it was a splendid testimonial. It gave expression "to the strong sense of thankfulness, admiration and gratitude, with which your Lordship's execution of the arduous duties of the first Judicial officer in India has deeply and lastingly impressed on us" and it went on to say that both suitors and spectators were fully convinced that the causes tried by the parting Chief Justice, however difficult, and complicated they might be, "had been thoroughly considered, rightly understood, and equitably decided." The address, concluded by describing him as "the best of Judges and kindest of men," than which no better tribute has ever been paid to any mortal. The address also referred to his humane and persevering efforts in the cause of education. But that matter was more fully dealt with in the address which the principal students of the Hindu College presented to him. Thus, the close of the venerable Judge's Indian career was simply grand and almost unprecedented‡. Both Sir Hyde East and Lady East were very sociable, and they gave parties at which almost all the important people of Calcutta were present.

On his return to England, Sir Hyde was created a Baronet on the 25th April, 1823. In the same year he re-entered‡ Parliament as member for Winchester, and worked in it till 1830. But it was not only in the world of politics that Sir

* Radhakanta afterwards rose very high in public esteem and was not only created a 'Raja' but also received the greater honour of Kanchhoo. But the proudest monument to his name is that stupendous work of Sanscrit learning very aptly styled *The Sabha Kalpa Drum*.

† See *The Asiatic Journal*, vol. XIV pp. 186-187.

‡ He had represented Great Britain in Parliament in 1792.

Hyde moved about, he also resumed his judicial duties. In 1831* he was sworn of the Privy Council, and was ere long appointed a member of the judicial committee of that august body, in order to assist in the disposal of Indian Appeals. This high office he held till the year 1845. East was also made a bencher of the Inner Temple, and a Fellow of the Royal Society. Sir Hyde East died at his residence, Sherwood House, Battersea, on 8th January 1847.

Sir Robert Henry Blosset. Mr. Blosset was an Oxonian, and chose for his profession the noble study of the law in which he so highly distinguished himself. But although law was his specialty, he excelled in many other studies. He was a thorough linguist of Eastern languages, he had a competent knowledge of Persian and Hindustani, and made considerable progress in Sanscrit, the sacred language of the Hindus, and the venerable parent of so many other languages. With respect to European languages, his knowledge was simply prodigious, at which even Sir William Jones himself would have stood in wonder and admiration. Mr. Blosset was perfect master of French, Italian, German, Latin, Greek, and had some knowledge of Spanish. The sacred tongue, Hebrew, in which the Holy Bible was originally composed, he was familiarly acquainted with, and often spoke of it with considerable delight. Such a man was sure to attract public notice and an opportunity now presented itself in which Government might avail itself of his services. Sir Edward Hyde East having retired from Indian service with honour, the Chief Justiceship of the Supreme Court at Calcutta was offered to Mr. Blosset, and, as the latter's love of the orient was not less ardent than his love for the occident, he made no hesitation in accepting the offer. At this time the noble order of knighthood, as was then the rule and practice, was conferred upon Mr. Blosset. He joined his high office on the 23rd of December,† 1822, in the fond hope of occupying it at least for some years, but the term of his natural life had well nigh come to an end, and he breathed his last on the first day of February next, aged forty-seven years only. But though the tenure of his office was miserably short, barely a couple of months, still in that brief period he had impressed all the professional gentlemen in the Court with the most favourable opinion of his abilities as a lawyer and his mighty eminent character as a firm and impartial Judge. His life was upright, just and honourable, while by his death he left an example of manly fortitude and holy resignation, sublime,

* See *Memoirs of the Times*.

† This long vacancy for nearly half a year in the office of Chief Justice was occasioned by the precipitous departure of Sir Hyde East for Europe.

in its nature and consoling and beneficial to others.* Indeed, Sir Robert not only excelled in law and general scholarship, he also bore an exemplary character.† He was a strictly moral and religious man. His piety and purity were quite saint like.‡ Thus he was lawyer, judge, scholar and saint combined in one.

Sir Christopher Puller.—Christopher Puller was born in 1774, the year in which the Supreme Court at Calcutta was established. His father was a well-known merchant of London, who was also a director of the Bank of England from 1786 to 1789. Young Puller was first educated at Eton, and then passed to Oxford, where he graduated. Having chosen law for his profession he entered the Inner Temple at which he was called to the bar in the year 1800. But though then called to the bar at the Inner Temple he migrated in 1812 to Lincoln's Inn, where he was elected a Benchet in 1822. Puller's career at the bar was fairly successful. He soon became a rising advocate and after he had made his mark at the bar was appointed King's Counsel. In early life Mr. Puller was associated as a law reporter with Mr. (afterwards Sir John Bernard) Bosanquet ‡. The year after he was elected Benchet, Puller was appointed to succeed Sir Robert Blosset as Chief Justice of the Calcutta Supreme Court, on which occasion, he, received the honour of knighthood.

Sir Robert Blosset's tenure of office was, as we have already seen, very short; that of his successor, Sir Christopher Puller, was shorter still, it was only a month and some odd days, the latter having died at Calcutta on the 31st of May § 1824, where he had arrived somewhere in the middle of the preceding month. Bishop Heber, who was then the Supreme head of the Protestant Church in India spoke very feelingly of him after his death."

Sir Charles Edward Grey.—This future Chief Justice was born in 1785. He was educated at University College, Oxford, where he graduated B.A. in 1806, and in 1808, after obtaining the prize for the English essay was elected Fellow of Oriel

* See *The Calcutta Journal*, vol. 1, p. 477

† See *Ben. al. Obituary* (1848), pp. 6, 7.

‡ The Reports which he, in conjunction with Sergeant Bosanquet had prepared had reference to cases decided in the Court of Common Pleas, the Exchequer Chamber and the House of Lords from the year 1796 to 1807. They are in five volumes and are of very great use to lawyers.

§ See *Dictionary of National Biography*. The other account is that he died on 19th May.

¶ See *The Asiatic Journal*, vol. xix, January, June 1825 p. 149. I am afraid our worthy writer has made a mistake here Bishop Heber was simply Bishop of Calcutta, and as for the "Protestant Church"—that has no existence. Editor, *Calcutta Review*.

College, having adopted law for his profession he commenced his study in right good earnest and was called to the bar in 1811. He at once took to practising at Courts, but his progress at the bar was not rapid. While he was thus rising slowly, he was appointed a Commissioner in Bankruptcy in 1817. This appointment was followed in 1818* by his being nominated a Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court at Madras. He held his seat in that Court till June, 1825, when he was appointed to succeed Sir Christopher Pulteney as Chief Justice of the Calcutta Supreme Court. In the farewell speech which he made from his seat on the Madras Bench Sir Charles Grey said that he had sat upon the Bench for full seven years, during which he had not done injustice to any man or had intentionally given offence† to any body. Sir Charles was also President of the Madras Literary Society, and an excellent President he proved himself, as one might well have expected from his scholarly attainments. On the eve of his departure for Calcutta, he was entertained at a dinner by that Society at which the *élite* of Madras were present.

The new Chief Justice of the Calcutta Court landed in the forenoon of the 29th June, 1825, at Chandpal Ghât, and in the afternoon took his seat on the Bench under the usual salute.‡ As Sir Charles was well-versed in law, and had also acquired considerable experience both at the bar and on the bench, it was expected that he would prove a very good Chief Justice, and, be it said to his credit, this expectation sanguine as it was, was fully realized. His decisions showed sound knowledge of law and were also marked by sound good sense. He settled once for all some points which had long remained open to doubt, whether the East India Company which possessed some sovereign powers were the sovereigns of the land had long been a vexed question. In *the Bank of Bengal v. The East India Company*,§ which involved some such question, Sir Charles Grey held that the Company having been invested with power usually called sovereign, did not constitute them sovereigns. This was a very important decision, as it placed beyond doubt the paramount title of the King of England and thus paved the way for the crown assuming the direct rule of the country after the dark days of the Sepoy Mutiny. Sir Charles also made some important alterations in the Ministerial department of

* In *Who's who*, however, it is stated that Grey was appointed a Puisne of Madras in 1828 but this statement is evidently not correct as appears from his farewell speech at Madras.

† See *John Bull*, July 3rd.

‡ See *The Asiatic Journal*, vol. xv, July and October, 1825.

§ See *Bignell. Rep.*, p. 120.

the Supreme Court, but as we have already dealt with this matter in our account of that Court, we need not again debate upon it here. His Lordship's most important act, however, by which he has secured the good will of the Hindus, was his improvement in the matter of the administration of oath to Hindu witnesses. The necessity for touching the water of the holy Ganges was no longer enforced, the witness on his objecting to take such oath being only required to be sworn some other way binding upon his conscience. In this way the Chief Justice earned enviable popularity, and as a matter of necessary consequence was held in high esteem both by the profession and the public.

Sir Charles Grey retired from the Calcutta Court in July 1831. At the dinner which was given in his honour on the 30th July by the Asiatic Society, of which he was the President, the Chairman, Sir Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, spoke of him as "a man, whose deep learning and extensive research, whose great abilities and zeal for the interests of science, would ever rank him in their memory among the most honoured of those distinguished persons, who had presided over them." And as regards his qualities as a judge he said that "a more conscientious, a more unbiassed Judge, one more anxious to do his duty, regardless of every other consideration, he had never known." "It was not only however," he added, "by his learning and his exalted character as a public man, that Sir Charles was entitled to the highest praise; as a private individual in his own family—in the intercourse of society—in his many charitable actions, he had earned by his bright example, their warmest affection and esteem."

After his return to England, Sir Charles was allowed to enjoy his well earned rest only for a few years. The Home Government nominated him to Colonial administration with which his connection began in 1835. After serving in several capacities he was at last appointed Governor of Jamaica in 1847. His usual success also attended him in this new sphere of action, and he enjoyed a wide popularity. He retired in 1853 and returned to England where he died at Tunbridge Wells on the first day of June 1865 †

Sir William Oldnall Russell.—Russell was like his predecessor on the bench, Sir Charles Grey, born in 1785. He was the eldest son of Samuel Oldnall, rector of St Nicholas and Mary, daughter of William Russell, Esq., of Powick. In 1816, in accordance with the will of his maternal grandfather, Sir William took the surname of Russell. He matriculated from

* See *The Asiatic Journal*, new series, vol. 2, January-April, 1833

† See *Who's who*.

Christ Church, Oxford, on the 21st of December, 1801, and was a student till 1812, graduating B.A. in 1806 and M.A. in 1807. He was called to the bar from Lincoln's Inn in 1809, and became Sergeant-at-Law on 25th June, 1827. By this time he had made his mark at the bar and had also earned a name in the domain of law literature. "He enjoyed for many years an extensive practice at the English bar, and both in the Common Pleas and on the Oxford circuit was frequently engaged in cases of the greatest importance and nicety." * But not only did he rise high in practice, he also distinguished himself as an author on legal subjects. In 1814 he published 'Practice in the Court of great Session on the Caermarthen circuit with Rules and Forms.' This was followed in the year 1819 by a far more important and learned work for which he is best known to the profession, namely, 'Treatise on Crimes and Misdemeanours'† in two volumes. On its appearance it was pronounced by Tom Warren, 'the great founder of the special pleading race,' as Lord Campbell calls him, 'the best general treatise in criminal law,' and in this high opinion of the book Warren does not stand alone. Indeed, the work is an acknowledged authority on the subject, and has received its meed of praise all round. As a "treatise," says a modern writer and Judge, " 'Russell on Crimes and misdemeanours' is the chief work on criminal law. There is a wealth of discussion and illustration which no other writer has ever so far attempted. But physical reasons prevent its competing to any substantial degree with Archibald and Roscoe."‡ The second edition which was by the author appeared in May 1825. Since then the work has passed through four more editions, the sixth and last which appeared in 1890, being by Horace Smith and A. P. Percival Keep. The learned editors say, in the Preface "the merits of the work as a whole are so well-known and appreciated that any radical attempt to alter its design and scope would only produce disappointment." But although the design has been left intact, still many additions and improvements have been made, so that the work, as it now stands, consists of three big volumes instead of two.

Russell was not only known as an author on law, he had also made a name as law reporter. In conjunction with

* See *John Bull*, February, as quoted in the *Asiatic Journal*, (No. 3), vol. xi, May-August, 1833.

† The well-known work on *Arbitration* was by Francis Russell, Barrister-at-law, who died in May, 1891. The seventh edition of that work which appeared in July of that year, nearly forty-five years after the appearance of the first, was the joint production of himself, and his son, Herbert Russell, Barrister-at-law.

‡ See *E. A. Telfs Where to find your Law* p. 10, 2nd Ed.

Edward Ryan, who like him was knighted and acquired fame as judge, he brought out reports of crown cases from 1799 to 1824. These reports are of very great use to lawyers and find place in almost every law library.

Russell married in 1825, Louisa Maria, daughter of John Lloyd William, who bore him several children.

When Russell had thus acquired fame both as a lawyer and writer on legal subjects and had become the father of a happy family, the Chief Justiceship of the Supreme Court, at Calcutta was offered to him on the retirement of Sir Charles Grey, and as the offer was not unworthy of his reputation, he did not hesitate to accept it. Russell on being, as usual, knighted on the occasion, sailed for India and arrived at Calcutta early in July 1831, where he took his seat on the Bench on the 9th day of that month under the usual salute. He had hoped to hold his appointment for a pretty long period, but unfortunately for this country his hope was not realized, for as a matter of fact a few short months were all that remained for his earthly career to run.

But short as the period was during which he presided in the Supreme Court, "his decisions appeared to give general satisfaction, while the firmness of his conduct, united to great urbanity of manners, established a regularity, order, and despatch in the business of the Court that, promised to lead to the best result."* Indeed, some of the decisions pronounced by Sir William, were really excellent and would do credit to any judges ancient or modern.

In the case of *Beebe Multra* which was decided on the 22nd October 1832, he passed a brilliant judgment, holding that the Supreme Court had general ecclesiastical jurisdiction within Calcutta, and by virtue whereof granted probates of Wills of Hindus who left property in it. Of the two judges who sat with him, Justice Franks concurred with him, but Justice Ryan dissented. The decision, however, was followed in several subsequent cases and it would appear that what he had held became settled law.

Sir William Russell† died on the 22nd of January 1832, on board the *Enterprise* steamer, in which vessel he had embarked for Penang only a few days before.

Sir Edward Ryan.—Edward Ryan, second son of William Ryan, was born on 18th August, 1793.‡ He matriculated from

* *John Bull* February 6 as quoted in *Asiatic Journal*, (N S) vol, XI, May—August 1833

† The Haileyboren of the same name who was a Bombay civilian was in India for nearly two years, having died at Bombay on 25th March 1836. (*Memorial of old Haileybury College* p 361)

‡ Sir Wilson Macnaghten was also born in the same year a year memorable in the law literature of Bengal.

Trinity College, Cambridge in 1810, and graduated in 1814. While at College he made the acquaintance of John, F. W. Herschel, Charles Babbage, and George Peacock, all of whom like himself afterwards became Fellows of the Royal Society. Ryan studied law at Lincoln's Inn, and on being called to the bar in 1817, went the Oxford Circuit. While practising, as an advocate, he in conjunction with Sir William Oldnall Russell brought out reports* of crown cases from the year 1799. This valuable work was dedicated to the Right Honourable Robert Peel, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, and was published in 1825. In conjunction with William Moody, Ryan also published reports of Visi Prius cases from 1823 to 1826. These learned labours in the field of law seemed to have paved his way to the high appointment in India which he got in the year 1827. He was appointed Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court at Calcutta in the place of Sir Anthony Buller who retired early in that year and was, as was then customary, decorated with the order of Knighthood. In addition to his knowledge of law, Ryan was a good scholar, having taken the degree of Master of Arts with Honours at Dublin University; and it is, therefore, no wonder that he gladly took active part in the material and mental improvement of the people of his land of adoption. Among other honorary avocations he was president of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society (1832) Sir Edward Ryan was of great help to his chief, Sir Charles Grey, so long as that Judge presided at the court, and he also worked well with the next Chief Justice, Sir William Oldnall Russell, with whom he had worked in England in Beaumont-Fletcher-like fashion as law reporter. But this circumstance did not prevent him from, now and then, differing from his chief when he thought that he could not in fairness agree with him,—a fact which shows that he had the courage of his convictions, without which a Judge would ill deserve his ermine. Sir Edward had already acquired a good Judicial reputation when Sir W. O. Russell came to an untimely end, so that he got his promotion in 1834,† without much ado. In fact, his promotion was a matter of course, as there was none who had a better right to it. Sir Edward Ryan had, it is true, to bear, "superior weight of toils" by being raised to the highest rank in the profession both in honour and emolument, but he found no difficulty in bearing it with credit. He had the reputation of being an able Judge and, as a matter of fact, his decisions were marked

* The full title of these Reports is *Reports of Crown Cases &c served for consideration and decided by twelve Judges of the land from the year 1799.*

† The editor of *The Men of the Reign of Queen Victoria*, however, says that Ryan became Chief Justice in 1838; but this appears to be a mistake.

by sound good sense as well as by sound good law. The mere fact of his having enjoyed the friendship of that great man Macaulay, is a strong proof of his having been, not only a good Judge but also a general scholar. Macaulay's company in India was very select, but in that small circle Ryan held the most prominent place.

Ryan held the office of Chief Justice till January 1842, when he resigned and returned to his native country. Previous to his departure for Europe he was presented with an address on the 30th December, 1841, by the European and native inhabitants of Calcutta. The address was well conceived, and among other things it very properly stated :—" many circumstances combine to render the duties of an English Judge in India in some respects, more arduous than those of his brethren in England, and it is no exaggeration to say that the exact performance of them demands peculiar vigilance, caution, temper, and discretion ; and those qualities have, in no ordinary degree, marked your career during the fourteen years you have sat upon the Bench." Ryan was also a promoter * of native education, for which laudable end he spared neither time nor labour. Accordingly, the students of the Hindu College also presented him an address, which was read by Govind Chunder Dutt, † a student of the first class and son of Rupomoy Dutt.‡ He also exercised much hospitality during his residence in Calcutta and was very popular, as one would naturally expect, in the ordinary course of affairs. § After his retirement Ryan was, on the 10th June, 1843, sworn a Privy Councillor, and he remained so till November 1865, having been made a member of that honourable body in 1850. His services were highly appreciated by the Judicial committee, on Indian questions his opinion was anxiously sought and almost invariably acted upon, indeed, the occasions were not few on which he was spoken of in very high terms for his very valuable assistance. In 1859-61, while he was a member of the committee, both Sir Lawrence Peel and Sir James Colvile were its assessors, which he himself was before being made a member.

On the formation of the Civil Service Commission, Ryan was, by an order in Council, dated the 21st May, 1855, named one of the first unpaid Commissioners. In April 1862, he became first Commissioner and a salaried officer. In this Civil Service

* Ryan was Chief Justice when Lord Bentinck's famous Resolution of the 7th of March, 1835, for " the promotion of European literature and science among the natives," was passed.

† Mr. Dutt afterwards distinguished himself by his rare knowledge of English. The two Misses Oru Dutt and Toru Dutt, who are so well known to fame more especially the latter, were his daughters. Mr. Dutt's father, Russomoy Dutt, was a distinguished Judge of the Calcutta Small Cause Court.

‡ See the *Asiatic Journal*, vol XXXVII, January April 1842.

§ See *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Commission matter, as well as in that of the Indian Law Commission * Ryan did knight's service, indeed he was the guiding spirit, performing his duties with a rare tact and sagacity. Ryan also took much interest in the prosperity of the University of London, of which he was a member of the Senate, and from 1871 to 1874 Vice Chancellor in succession to George Grote who died in 1871. He was elected F.G.S. in 1846 and F. R. S. on 2nd February 1860, and he was secretary to the Society of Dilettanti from 1859 to 1865. He died at Dover on 22nd August, 1875, full of honours and years.

Sir Lawrence Peel Lawrence Peel was born on the 10th August 1799. He was the third son of Joseph Peel of Bowes Farm, Middlesex. His father was the younger brother of the first Sir Robert Peel, and he was thus first cousin of the great statesman, the second Sir Robert Peel. Young Peel was sent to Rugby in 1812, whence passing to St. John's College, Cambridge, he graduated B. A. in 1821, and M. A. in 1824. After his call to the bar in the middle Temple on 7th May, 1824, he went the Northern Circuit and attended the Lancaster, Preston, and Manchester Sessions. In 1840 he came out to India as Advocate General of Bengal which office he held till 1842, when on the retirement of Sir Edward Ryan he was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, on which occasion he was knighted. Although the very reverse of Lord Kenyon who was a judicial sloven, so to say, Sir Lawrence Peel was very assiduous and particular in the discharge of the duties of his high judicial office, the highest in the land. He was held in very high esteem both by the profession and the public. Indeed a careful reading of his decisions plainly shows that his reputation as a good Judge † was well deserved. Peel held the office of Chief Justice till 1855 when he retired and returned to England. During 1854 and 1855 he was also Vice President of the Legislative Council. He left Calcutta in November, 1855.

On the eve of his departure for Europe the Hindus presented an address to Sir Lawrence, and the Mohomedans promised one. At last a public meeting was held on the 5th November, 1855, to express, if possible the sense of the entire community. At this meeting a statue ‡ was proposed, but as this proposal

* Ryan was a member both of the second and of the third Indian Land Commission which were appointed on 9th November, 1853, and 2nd December 1861 respectively. See Ilbert's *Legislative Methods and Forms* at pages 130, 131.

† Peel made some excellent observations on the Indian Penal Code, which were published in 1848.

‡ A writer in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, however, states that a statue was erected to Peel in Calcutta; but this statement is anything but true. The same writer also says that Peel gave away in public charity the whole of his official income of £8000 a year, and was consequently, very popular in India. This statement too must be received with considerable modification.

was hotly contested by Baboo Ram Gopal Ghose, the great orator, it fell through and the meeting broke up without coming to any definite resolution. On this matter the *Friend of India* remarked, "A statue is beyond the desert of Sir Lawrence Peel. It is an honour which should be reserved for those who have accomplished some national good, who have influenced the acts of masses, or have achieved undertakings of historical importance. Freely as we admit the excellencies of Sir Lawrence Peel, we can recognize in him no claim of this degree. It was for his virtues rather than his deeds that Calcutta assembled at the Town Hall."*

After his return Peel was sworn on the Privy Council and was made a paid Member of the Judicial Committee on 4th April 1856. In May following he was elected a Benchers of the Middle Temple. Both as Assessor to and Member of the Judicial Committee he was of great help to that body, especially in Indian matters. From 1857 Peel was a Director of the East India Company, and in the following year was created a Honorary D. C. L., of the University of Oxford.

Sir Lawrence was not only an excellent Judge, he was also an author of some note. He wrote in 1860, a *Sketch of the Life and Character of his first cousin, the great Minister, Sir Robert Peel*, † of whom it was said that, though out of office he was not out of power, he lost a party, but won a nation," and had given "bread unleavened with injustice" to the great towns and the masses of the people. Peel also courted the Muse of poetry and produced in 1841 "*Hæc Penseæ*," poems translated and original. He was for some years a correspondent of the *Times* on legal and general topics.

Peel died, unmarried, at Garden Reach, Ventnor, Isle of Wight, on the 22nd July 1884.

Sir James William Colville.—James William Colville was born in 1810. He was the eldest son of Andrew Wedderburn Colville by his wife, the Honourable Louise Mary Eden, daughter of William, first Lord Auckland. He was educated at Eton, and then at Trinity College, Cambridge where he obtained the third place in the second class in mathematical honours, and graduated B. A., in 1831 and M. A., in 1834. While at Cambridge he contracted an intimate friendship with Monckton Milnes, afterwards Lord Houghton. In 1834 he was called to the bar at the Middle Temple, and practised in Lincoln's Inn as an equity draftsman. In 1845 he came

* *The Friend of India* 8th November, 1855.

† In *The Men of the Reign of Queen Victoria*, however, it is stated that Sir Lawrence wrote a biography of his cousin, the Right Honourable General Jonathan Peel, M. P. (1799-1879) but this does not appear to be correct. The statement we have made on the authority of a writer in the *Dictionary of National Biography* is the correct one.

out to India as Advocate General of Bengal to the Honourable East India Company. In 1848 there were two vacancies in the Calcutta Supreme Court in consequence of Sir John Peter Grant and Sir Henry Wilmot Seton having retired from it. One of these vacancies was filled up by Arthur W. Butler and the other by James W. Colville, on which occasion both the new Judges were, decorated with the noble order of knighthood. Sir James Colville had received good legal training, and, as had been expected, soon won his spurs as Judge. Indeed, his reputation as administrator of justice stood very high. Even his Chief, Sir Lawrence Peel, entertained golden opinions of his judicial ability and legal knowledge, and found great pleasure in sitting with him on the Bench. Sir Arthur W. Butler was not so great a favourite of the Chief Justice as Sir James Colville. In fact, the latter was the worthier of the two, so that when in 1855, Sir Lawrence Peel retired, Colville was promoted to his place. During the time Sir James Colville presided as its Chief, the Supreme Court was justly deemed the palladium of Justice. Sir James had his heart in his work and he also knew how to do it well. Some of his decisions are masterpieces of their kind. Whether we consider them as specimens of sound reasoning and law, or as pieces of good composition, in both respects they are entitled to more than ordinary praise. He was also quite independent and had no regard for rank when it clashed with the due discharge of his duties. In a suit in which the Nawab Nazim was a party he refused a Commission to examine him. The result was that the Nawab had to drop the suit as he could not appear in the Supreme Court.* In this way Sir James held the first place in Indian Judiciary till 1859 when he retired and left this country for good. By this time he had married Francis Elinor, daughter of Sir John Peter Grant, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, by whom he had one son who died in 1876. Sir James had acquired in India a great knowledge of Indian systems of law, as well as of scientific and economic questions affecting India, and was President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. On his return home where his reputation, it would seem, had preceded him, he was at once, on account of these special attainments sworn on the Privy Council and acted with Sir Lawrence Peel as Indian assessor to the Judicial Committee. In November 1865, he was appointed a member of that Committee, and took a large share in its deliberations. The wise old veterans who moved in that charmed circle held very high opinions of him. Indeed, judging from the many excellent decisions which he pronounced while occupying a seat therein, one would be apt to

* See *The Friend of India*, 5th April, 1855.

think that the genius which had commenced to shine in this country reached its meridian glory in that blessed land of liberty. When his reputation was, at its height he was, in November, 1871, appointed under the Judicial Committee Act one of the four paid members. He continued* to act in that capacity until on 6th December 1880, he died suddenly at his town house, 8 Rutland Gate, and was buried five days after at his Scotch seat, Craigflower, near Dunfermline in Fifeshire, of which county, he was a Justice of the Peace and Deputy Lieutenant. He was a Bencher of the Inner Temple and a Fellow of the Royal Society.

Sir Barnes Peacock succeeded Sir James Colville on the Supreme Court bench, but as that Court was ere long abolished and the High Court established in its place, Sir Barnes' judicial career properly belongs to the High Court which was newly constituted, rather than to the one which was broken up. We shall, therefore, speak of him when we come to record our notices of the eminent Judges of the High Court.

Sir William Jones.—Among the Puisne Judges of the Supreme Court at Calcutta Sir William Jones holds the first and foremost place. Jones was born in 1746. He was a Welshman by birth, but in other respects he was a thorough Englishman. He was happy in his parents. His father was a celebrated mathematician who was both the disciple and friend of the great philosopher Newton. His mother was a remarkable lady, and it was to her that Jones owed his passionate love of reading. Young Jones had a brilliant academical career. Having completed his College study he went on short travels. In 1782 he resided for a few months in Paris, where he was introduced at Court. The French Emperor was much pleased with his conversation, and, after he withdrew, remarked to one of his courtiers, "he is a most extraordinary man! he understands the language of my people better than I do myself." "Yes please your Majesty," replied the courtier, "he is, indeed, a more extraordinary man than you are aware of, for he understands almost every language in the world but his own." "Mon Dieu!" exclaimed the King "then of what country is he?" "He is, please your Majesty, a Welshman."

Jones † came out to India as a Puisne Judge of the Supreme

* In *The Men of the Reign of Queen Victoria*, however, it is stated that a few days after being appointed a paid member of the Judicial Committee in 1871 Sir James retired. But this is not so, as we learn from the *Times* of 8th December 1880 and *Law Times* of 11th December; from which we have principally taken our account of the great Judge.

† The biographer of Sir Elijah Impey says that Jones succeeded Le Maistre who died at Calcutta. (See Impey's *Memoirs* Chap. IX). Now, as Le Maistre, according to the author of *Echoes from Old Calcutta*, died in November, 1777.

Court in 1783, on which occasion he received the honour of knighthood. Before he was so appointed he had won laurels in the field of law literature. His famous Essay on the Law of Bailments which he brought out in 1781 had secured him a high place on the roll of writers on English law. His was, indeed, a cosmopolitan genius. Speaking of him the learned historian of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* says that, "he is perhaps the only lawyer equally conversant with the Year-Books of Westminster, the commentaries of Alpin, the Attic pleadings of Isaeus, and the sentences of Arabian and Persian Cadmus," and he might have added the writings of the Hindu sages of old. Surely, this is no small praise, coming as it does from one who was so very competent to pass an opinion on the matter.

Shortly after his arrival, Jones founded the Asiatic Society* of which he became the President. Simultaneously with the establishment of this famous Institution he commenced studying Sanskrit and mastered this difficult language in a few years. In 1788 he undertook to prepare a Digest of Hindu and Mahomedan Law, but he did not live to complete it. The credit of bringing out the work, so far as the Hindu law goes is due to that accomplished Sanskrit scholar, Colebrooke, who in 1800 ushered it to the public under the title of *Digest of Hindu Law*. This is known as Colebrooke's *Digest*,† which is justly regarded as a *sine qua non* with every Indian Judge and practitioner. The last work on law which Jones produced was a translation of the *Institutes of Menu*, this appeared in 1794, only a few months before his death‡ which took place on 27th April of that year, while he was making preparations to return home. He was succeeded by Sir William Dunkin.§

Sir William Jones was a scholar, lawyer and man of genius. Indeed, he was a myriad minded man like his favourite poet, Shakespeare. A sound and learned lawyer as he was, it is no wonder that he proved a very good judge. But his fame as a Judicial officer has been eclipsed by his fame as a scholar

it was long before his place was permanently filled. Le Maistre was the very reverse of his illustrious successor. A convivial man as he was, he was a protégé of the licentious Lord Sandwich. He was also "violent beyond measure, and with Hyde opposed Impey in every thing." See *Echoes*

* The Society possess no less than one bust and three pictures of their founder.

† In the preface to his Digest, Colebrooke, speaking of Sir William Jones, says that he "joins to a competent knowledge of oriental language, that legislative spirit and intimate acquaintance with the principles of Jurisprudence, which he possessed in so eminent a degree."

‡ In August of the same year died Richard Burke, the only son of the great Statesman and orator and with him were buried all his earthly hopes.

§ Dunkin was enrolled as an advocate of the Supreme Court on the 22nd October, 1782.

and linguist. Only a few know the Judge, but the whole civilized world knows the founder of the Asiatic Society, the writer on Asiatic Researches, the translator of *Sakuntala*, *Hilopodesha*, *Gita Govinda*, and the *Vedas*, the wooer of the Eastern Muse, and a master of more than a dozen languages. Jones' was a life of learned and useful labour. What Johnson said Pope might with equal truth be applied to him, "that he was one of those few whose labour is their pleasure." Indeed, he laboured hard incessantly for humanity, and the sweet content which he found in it had its own exceeding great reward. In his capacity of Judge he practised those laws which it was the pride of his life to cherish and honour, and administered to his fellow-creatures the pure maxims of justice and truth. The fittest and most eloquent tribute to his memory has been paid by his bosom friend and successor in the Presidential chair of the Asiatic Society, Sir John Shore afterwards Lord Teignmouth. "At home" says this distinguished writer, of his Memoirs, Jones "was always good, and abroad he was always great. As a great man, whether we consider the perspicuity of his genius, the variety of his powers, or the extent of his erudition, we are enamoured and astonished.....As a lawyer he distinguished himself at an early age; and he not only attained a superior knowledge in the laws of his own country, but in those also of every other of the civilized globe." And he was a man "who feared God, but not death, and maintained independence, but sought not riches; who thought none below him but the base and unjust, none above him but the wise and virtuous." Indeed, Jones was a very remarkable character and deserves to occupy a high and prominent place in the proud Temple of Fame.

Sir John Royds John Royds was born in the year 1752. He chose law for his profession and was called to the bar in due course. Not long after his call to the bar, he came to this country and got himself enrolled as an advocate of the Supreme Court on the 10th November 1789. His forensic career was fairly successful, and it might well be said that he had made his mark at the bar. About this time, John Hyde,* the colleague of Sir Elijah Impey on the Bench, died. His place was taken by Sir James Watson, but the latter's tenure of office was short, so that before the year 1797 † was out,

* John Hyde died at Calcutta in July 1795, two years after the death of Sir William Jones. Both Hyde and Le Maistre had opposed Impey in everything; but the former was more difficult to deal with. He was an honest man, but a great coxcomb and loved pomp and parade. Late in life, Hyde had his wife with him; and he was a great favourite in social life, where his hospitality was genuine. He was buried in the same cemetery where some twenty years before his brother Justice Le Maistre had found his final resting place. (See *Echoes*, pp 92, 93).

† In this year the number of Judges of the Supreme Court was reduced from four to three.

he was succeeded by Mr. John Royds who (on this occasion, received the honour of knighthood. Sir John proved a good and popular Judge and he conscientiously discharged his important duties with honour to himself and advantage to the public, while he benefited and adorned the society in which he lived by the benevolence of his disposition and the accomplishments of a scholar and a gentleman. Surely such a man "richly deserves to have his name writ in the bonny book of fame." Sir John reached a ripe old age and died in harness on the 24th of September, 1817, full of years and honours.*

Sir William Burroughs.—William Burroughs was called to the bar in England, after which he came out to this country. Here at Calcutta he was enrolled as an advocate of the Supreme Court on the 10th of November, 1789. As he was a sound and well-read lawyer and possessed, to a certain extent, the gift of eloquence he soon got into practice and steadily rose in the profession until he got to the top of the tree, by being made Advocate General in succession to Thomas Henry Davies. After he had deservedly led the bar for some years Mr. Burroughs was appointed a Puisne Judge in the place of Sir Henry Russell when the latter, in the year 1806 was made Chief Justice. By this time Mr. Burroughs had been created a Baronet. His elevation to the Bench of the Highest Tribunal in the land was hailed with delight by all sections of the community. His career on the Bench was not less successful than his career at the Bar. He was certainly an acquisition to the Bench which he occupied with honour till the 20th of December 1815, when he retired and returned to his own country. A beautiful portrait of his hangs in the Library of the High Court, a fact which is alone sufficient to show that he enjoyed a wide popularity, and was held in high esteem.

Sir Francis Workman Macnaghten. Francis W. Macnaghten was born in Antrim, Ireland, in the year 1760, and represented one of the oldest families in that county. He graduated at Dublin University. He however, followed law as his profession and was called to the Irish bar at an early period of his life. He came out to India and joined the bar of the Supreme Court at Calcutta. He had not much business, but his ability and legal learning were undoubted, so that it is no wonder that he was appointed Advocate General a few years after. In May 1809, he was made a Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court at Madras, on which occasion he, it would appear, was knighted. He served at Madras till July, 1815, when he was transferred to the Calcutta Supreme Court, to fill the place which had been vacated by Sir William Burroughs. Sir

* See Bengal Obituary, p 181.

Francis was successful as a Judge though he was not so as an advocate. Indeed, his practice at the bar was not at all noteworthy. But he proved a very good Judge. He was well up not only in English law but in the laws of the land in which his lot was cast. His *Considerations of Hindu Law*,* which is the first original treatise on Hindu Law by a European, is a very creditable performance and, proves beyond doubt his more than ordinary knowledge of native law. But it seems that he was a little too much of an egotist. Unlike Sir Thomas Strange, who was all mildness, Sir Francis too frequently indulged in caustic and arrogant style. Speaking of the *Considerations of Hindu Law*, Mr. Morley says, "It is to be regretted that the whole work is pervaded by a spirit of exaggerated self-estimation and unjust depreciation of every thing not consistent with the author's professional prejudices." But there is no doubt that "it is," as the same writer observes, "a valuable work, consisting of an enunciation of principles illustrated copiously by arguments and decided cases, which are in most instances, given *in extenso*."

Sir Francis occupied the Calcutta bench for more than nine years, during which period he twice officiated as Chief Justice. As we have already stated, he proved a success as a judge and was held in a high esteem. At his retirement which took place in March 1825, addresses poured in upon him from all quarters. All classes of Calcutta people vied with each other in showing him their deep and heartfelt regard; and what is more, the scene which the "City of Palaces" presented at the time of his departure stands almost, without a parallel. Sir Francis was accompanied to Chandpal Ghat, by Sir Anthony Buller, the Advocate General,† the barristers, attorneys, and officers of the court, as well as a large concourse of the community, and "certainly," observed one of the Calcutta Journals "a more honourable tribute than that could not possibly have been paid to any one." Indeed, the good judge was an ornament to the bench, and was, besides, a patron of science, possessed a refined taste and exhibited high literary talents. He held many important trials and did justice without distinction of creed or colour. Mr. John Hayes, Judge and Magistrate of Tipperah, was tried by him, the charge against the accused being that he had murdered one Pertab Narain Dass by dealing violent blows and striking his hand with a rattan. In that case Mr. Henry Thoby Prinsep, Chief Secretary to Government, and Mr. Samuel Thomas Goad, a Sadar Judge, gave evidence,

* This work was published at Serampore in the year 1824. It was, as the author himself states, commenced and completed in that year.

† Sir Anthony was appointed Judge on the 11th of September, 1816, and he worked on till 1st January, 1827.

the case was found to be a got up one, and accordingly, the great accused was acquitted. After his return from India Sir Francis took part in home politics. During the discussion of the Irish Poor Laws, he published a very able pamphlet in opposition to the views of Mr. Nicholls, and, as the sequel showed, his predictions respecting the working of the proposed measure were, unfortunately, too closely verified.

Sir Francis was the father of seventeen sons and daughters. The violent death at Cabul of his second son, the illustrious Sir William Hay Macnaghten,* greatly affected him, then verging on his 80th year. The shock was a terrible one and it hurried him to the grave in the year following. His death took place at his seat, Bushmill House, in the county of Antrim, Ulster.†

Sir John Franks.—John Franks, second son of Thomas Franks, was born in 1770. He received his education at Trinity College, Dublin, where he graduated B.A. in 1788, and M.A. in 1790. He adopted law as his profession and on being called to the Irish bar in 1792, went the Munster circuit and had a good practice as Chamber Counsel. He ‘took silk,’ as it is called, in 1823. In 1825, the Board of Control, on the recommendation of his friend, Plunket, then Attorney-General, appointed him a Judge of the Supreme Court at Calcutta in succession to Sir Francis Macnaghten, and he sailed for India after having received the honour of knighthood. He held his seat on the Bench till ill-health compelled him to resign in 1834.

Sir John Franks was popular, both as advocate and Judge. He was a good lawyer and was of great help to his colleagues on the Bench. He was an intimate friend of the great orator, Curran; and one of his executors W. H. Curran, Curran’s son commemorates ‘his peculiar aboriginal wit, quiet, keen, and natural to the occasion, and best of all, never malignant.’‡ Franks died in the year 1852.

—*Sir John Peter Grant.*—John Peter Grant, the only son of William Grant, M.D., was born on 21st September 1774. The very year in which the Supreme Court was established at Calcutta. He studied law first at Edinburgh, where he was admitted an Advocate on 28th June, 1796, and afterwards at Lincoln’s Inn, whose Society called him to the bar on 29th January 1802. Although law was his profession still he

* Sir William arrived in India on 30th September 1814. He rose very high in the service of the East India Company, and was at last appointed Governor of Bombay, but he did not live to enjoy it. In an evil hour he was sent as envoy at the Court of Shah Shuja in Cabul, where he was killed in an insurrection.

† See *The Asiatic Journal* 3rd, series, vol. ii, 1844.

‡ See *Gentleman’s Magazine*, April 1852, p. 408.

mixed in politics, and accordingly entered the House of Commons, the great centre of the political world. In 1827* he came out to India as a Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court at Bombay, on which occasion he was knighted. He held this post till the year 1833, when on the promotion of Sir Edward Ryan to the Chief Justiceship of Bengal, he was transferred to Calcutta to take the place so vacated by Ryan. Grant was a sound and learned lawyer and administered justice with vigour,

In a case involving the law relating to pirates in which he differed from his colleagues, he wrote a masterly decision which shows very plainly and clearly that his knowledge of law was much above the average. He occupied the Bench for a pretty long period during which he, it would appear officiated as Chief Justice for some time. His decisions were marked by sound good sense, deep knowledge of law, and thorough independence. Like his chief he enjoyed the friendship of Macaulay, who while Law member, now and then invited them and a few others to a quiet dinner. This circumstance is alone sufficient to show that Sir John Peter Grant was a man of great parts and learning.

Sir John retired from service in 1848 but he did not live to enjoy well-earned rest in his native land, for he died at sea on his way home on the 17th of May in that year. Grant was not only a lawyer and statesman, he was also an author and wrote some works on law and political economy, of which 'Some observations on the constitution and form of pleading in the Court of Session in Scotland,' and 'Essays towards illustrating some Elementary Principles relating to wealth and currency' are the most important.

Sir Benjamin Heath Malkin.—Benjamin Heath Malkin was born on the 29th of September 1797. He was the eldest son of B. H. Malkin, D.C.L. (1769-1842), and was educated at Trinity College, Oxford, of which he afterwards became a Fellow. Having adopted law for his profession he studied hard to qualify himself for the bar to which he was called in due course. After commencing practice he, in conjunction with William Wooddy, who like him was a beginner in the profession, brought out *Nisi Prius Reports* which covered a period of four years beginning from 1827. These Reports are of very

* In this year his second son, John Peter Grant, left Haileybury College for this country. Young Grant afterwards highly distinguished himself and became more famous than his father. He rapidly rose in Indian service and was at last appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal in succession to Sir Frederick Halliday. After his retirement from Indian service he was made Governor in Chief and Captain-General in Jamaica. Sir John died in January 1893. (See Memorial of old Haileybury College, p. 388). In giving a short notice of the father in chapter ii, we erred in jumbling the father and the son into one.

great use to lawyers and are held in considerable esteem. Not long after, Mr. Malkin was appointed Recorder of Penang, which office he held for some time, after which he was made a Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court at Calcutta. This took place in the year 1835, on which occasion, he received the honour of knighthood.

Sir Benjamin Malkin was a man eminently distinguished by his literary and scientific attainments, by his professional learning and ability, by the clearness and accuracy of his intellect, by diligence, by patience, by firmness, by love of truth, by public spirit, ardent and dis-interested, yet always under the guidance of discretion; by rigid uprightness, by unostentatious piety, by the serenity of his temper and by the benevolence of his heart.* No wonder that such a remarkable man became the bosom friend of Macaulay, who has spoken so very highly of him in some of his letters. It is very likely that it was by the influence of that great man that Malkin got his high appointment in the Supreme Court. Sir Benjamin, however, did not occupy his seat on the Calcutta Bench long, for on the 31st of October, 1837 he ended his days on earth in the full prime of life.

Sir Henry Wilmot Seton—Henry W. Seton was a very eminent member of the profession and was held in high repute for his deep and extensive knowledge of law. In 1836 he submitted to a Committee of the House of Commons some learned and interesting notes on the Statute Law and a list of statutes showing how far they were in force or not. This list is of importance as the basis on which the subsequent expurgatory lists and the earlier Statute Law Revision Acts were framed.† Two years after he was appointed a Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, on which occasion he was decorated with the noble order of knighthood. This office Sir Henry held with honour for a period of ten years, retiring in 1848. But his public duties were not confined to the judiciary, he was also a member of the Indian Prison discipline Committee as well as of the Public Instruction Committee; and in this respect he only followed the example of his chief, Sir Edward Ryan, who was President of both those Committees. But Sir Henry Seton's name as a Judge and a public man has been thrown in the back ground by his name as an author. His *Forms of Judgments and Orders in Equity* is a very important and useful work. The book is in great demand and has passed through six editions. The last edition which appeared in 1901 is by Mr. Cecil, C. V. Dale, assisted by two others, and has been dedicated to the Right

* See *Bengal Obituary* (1848), pp. 7, 22.

† See *Ibbit's Legislative Methods and Forms*, p. 52.

Honourable Hardinge Stanley, Earl of Halsbury, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain. It is really a *Magnum opus*, consisting of three large volumes. Speaking of this splendid edition, the learned editor of the *Law Journal* says, "The new edition of Seton is from every point of view, indeed a most valuable and indispensable work, and well worthy of the book's high reputation."

Sir Charles Robert Mitchell Jackson—Mr. Jackson was a well-known lawyer and in recognition of his deep knowledge of law was appointed Advocate-General of Bengal in 1858, to succeed Sir James Colville, when the latter was elevated to the Bench. But the new Advocate-General did not arrive in Calcutta until the first Term of 1849. Mr. Jackson performed the duties of his office with honour and ability and was held in high esteem both by the profession and the public. He had hardly worked four years as Advocate-General when he was exalted to the seat of Puisne Judge on the Bombay bench, vacant by reason of the retirement of Sir E. Perry, and the promotion of Sir W. Yardley to the Chief Justiceship of that Presidency.* As was customary at the time, the new Judge received the honour of knighthood. Sir Charles remained at Bombay till 1855, when he was removed to the Calcutta bench in the same capacity. Here he exercised his judicial functions even after the Supreme Court was abolished and was, with the Sadar Courts, merged in the newly-established composite Courts called the High Court, which exists up to this day. But though Sir Charles was transferred to the High Court, the period of his tenure in it was very short, for he retired the very year the High Court was established.

Sir Mordaunt Lawson Wells.—When Sir Arthur W. Butler retired from the Supreme Court bench in 1859, Mr. Mordaunt Lawson Wells was appointed to take his place, on which occasion he was knighted. Sir Mordaunt joined his high office on the 14th of February; he was, it is true, a well-read lawyer, but he was perfectly innocent of the peculiar manners and customs of the country where he was appointed to administer justice; and, as ill-luck would have it, he soon turned an inveterate native hater. While presiding at the Criminal Sessions which he generally did, he often forgot himself into playing the role of a political reformer. He never dealt with a case of perjury or forgery without inveigling against the natives as "a nation of liars and forgers." This repeated insult from such a quarter, whence it was least expected, was too much for the injured natives to bear. They,

* See *Beil and Taylor's Reports of Supreme Court Cases 1849-1850*.

accordingly, called a crowded meeting at the house of Raja Radha Kanta Deb, the recognised head of the Hindu community, in which it was unanimously resolved to present a petition to Government against the abusive Judge. This petition had its desired effect and Sir Mordaunt altogether ceased to give vent to his ill humour. All this took place in the latter half of 1861 and Mr. Justice Wells retired in the year following, shortly after he was transferred to the High Court on its establishment in July 1862. Barring, however, his intense hatred of the natives, which was more a defect of temper than of intellect, Sir Mordaunt Wells was otherwise a good Judge and was held in esteem for his judicial ability and legal lore.

Here we close our account of the eminent Judges of the Supreme Court, and by way of Appendix annex hereto a complete list of the Judges of that Court distinguishing the Puisnes from the chief Judges, with dates of their appointments.

CHIEF JUSTICES.

Sir Elijah Impey, Knight, 1774,
 Sir Robert Chambers, Knight, 1791.
 Sir John Anstruther, Baronet, 1798.
 Sir Henry Russell, Baronet, 1806.
 Sir Sir Edward Hyde East, Baronet, 1813.
 Sir Robert Henry, Blosset, Knight, 1823.
 Sir Christopher Fuller, Knight, 1824.
 Sir Charles Edward Grey, Knight, 1825.
 Sir William Oldnall Russell, Knight, 1832.
 Sir Edward Ryan, Knight, 1833.
 Sir Lawrence Peel, Knight, 1842.
 Sir James William Colville, Knight, 1855.
 Sir Barnes Peacock, Knight, 1859.

PUISNE JUDGES.

Sir Robert Chambers, Knight, 1774,
 Stephen Cæsar Le Maistre, Esq., 1774
 John Hyde, Esq., 1776.
 Sir William Jones, Knight, 1783.
 Sir William Dunkin, Knight, 1791.
 Sir James Watson, Knight, 1796.
 Sir John Royds, Knight, 1797.
 Sir Henry Russell, Knight, 1798.
 Sir William Burroughs, Baronet, 1806.
 Sir Francis Workman Macnaghten, Knight, 1815.
 Sir Anthony Buller, Knight, 1816.

• Those marked with an asterisk afterwards became Chief Justice.

Sir John Franks, Knight, 1825.

Sir Edward Ryan, Knight, 1827.

Sir John Peter Grant, Knight, 1833,

Sir Benjamin Keath Malkin, Knight, 1835.

Sir Henry Wilmot Seton, Knight, 1838.

Sir Arthur William Butler, Knight, 1848.

Sir James William Colvile, Knight, 1848.

Sir Charles Robert Mitchell Jackson, Knight, 1855.

Sir Mordaunt Lawson Wells, Knight, 1859.

SHUMBUOO CHUNDER DEY.

* Those marked with an asterisk afterwards became Chief Justice.

ART. V.—ACROSS THE PELOPONNESUS.

(Continued from July 1902 No. 229.)

V.—ARGOS AND MYCENÆ

δι δικάνομεν,

Φασκειν Μυκήνας τὰς πολυχρύσους ὄραν,

πολύφθορόν τε δῶμα Πελοπιδῶν τύδε.

THE journey by train out of Aicadia in to Argolis is in the highest degree picturesque, if in a somewhat sombre and gloomy fashion. A mere glance at the map shows how tortuously the railway winds through the passes on this side. We have first to make a long circuit southward round the whole mass of Mount Parthenium, which looms gigantically ahead and seems to block the way. The mountain walls, as the train creeps laboriously upward on leaving Tripolitza, are of the grimest and sternest character, the gradients when we begin to descend almost alarmingly sharp. Parthenium rounded—it was somewhere hereabouts, by the way, that the god Pan met the Athenian runner, Phidippides, on his way back from Sparta a few days before the battle Marathon—the railway makes a second remarkable twist in the reverse direction skirting both sides of a deep and narrow ravine, three or four miles long. The whole course from Tripolitza to Argos is a big double S with long flourishes at either end and flattened loops.

On completing the second loop we descend rapidly into comparatively level country and exchange the severity of alpine scenery for sunny and fertile plain. The rich blue of the sea bursts on us as we clear the hills and skirt the bay of Nauplia. On breaking through the mountains we have, indeed, come into a new country, a new climate, a new atmosphere. In Tripolitza it was decidedly bracing, even chilly when we started in the early morning. Here all at once we are in the midst of summer and the summer of a southern country, all is mild, balmy, luxurious; and when we begin to walk or climb, we find it both hot and dusty.

We touch the coast at the little town of Myli, and are near Lerna, erstwhile the haunt of the Hydra. Across the limpid blue water is Nauplia, lapped in soft haze and sunshine, its battlemented fortress conspicuous on a broad hill above the town. Four or five miles ahead straight over the plain an array of square-built white houses shows among the trees. We are looking on Argos, and that fine up-standing hill on the left is Lârisa, the acropolis of the Hellenic city, now crowned with a mediæval castle. The plain spreads out on

either hand, narrowing far to the northward, where the mountains hem in the pass of Dervenaki. Fair is the plain of Argos, rich the contrast of the vivid green of the young crops and the deep red of the bare soil, with sober patches of olive, and here and there groves of dark cypresses rising up against the deep blue of the sky. And bounding the view, in which ever direction the eye turns, the glorious limestone hills.

But we do not stop at Argos. Two stations on is Phictia Mycenæ within distance of the undoubted site of the citadel and palace of Agamemnon. Our plan is to give the rest of the day to Mycenæ returning to Argos for the night.

A twenty minutes run conveys us to Phictia Mycenæ. We start off at once across the mile or so of level plain which separates us from the hill which was once the Acropolis of the Attidæ. Today we are far back in the past, back in an antiquity to which no certain date can be assigned, but which is separated by a gulf from the Greece we are most familiar with; back in the civilization which Homer described and among the heroes whose deeds he sung. We shall pass up through the gate by which Agamemnon went forth to join the ships that sailed to the Trojan War—we shall look over the battlements from which Clytemnestra's sentinel watched for the flaming beacon on Mount Acliacon which was to be the signal of the fall of Troy, we shall even peer into the rock-made tomb wherein, if Schleimann's inspired fancies may be believed, the bodies of king Agamemnon and his followers were huddled after the consummation of the treachery by which they were done to death on the night of their return. Somewhere on the fringe of the stony hills full in view is Mycenæ, the city of Atreus and Agamemnon and Orestes, the capital of the legendary overlords of Hellas, before that Dorian conquest of the Peloponnesus, which accounts traditionally for the political conditions subsisting when Greek history really begins. The historical environment has changed as rapidly as the scenery in our six days of travel. Olympia belonged to the whole period of Greek national life from the mythical age to the Roman Empire; Phigaleian Bassæ recalled the period of the Peloponnesian War; Megolopolis suggested the latter days of national decay and the approach of disintegration. Mycenæ takes us back to the half light of prehistoric times, a fascinating age of legend and romance, which, visionary as it is, has here, nevertheless, substantial witness to its reality in massive stone.

To one who has any interest in Greek archæology, the history of Mycenæ, the position of the site, and the extent and character of the remains discovered there, is likely to be familiar before he sets foot on Greek soil. And yet, as generally happens in such cases, the actual concète experience, as one

scans the plain of Argos and its rampart of hills, comes with a shock of novelty. To begin with the acropolis hill as seen from the railway, does by no means stand out distinct and clear-cut, a rock fortress rising out of the plain, like the Lárissa of Argos, or the acropolis of Athens. Though the citadel is actually precipitous on three sides, the rocky platform on which it stands is but faintly marked against its back-ground of hills and its height is reduced to the eye by a swell in the plain sloping up to it, on which the village of Charvati has been planted. After one's visit it will be possible with little effort to discern exactly where the Cyclopean wall fences the summit and even to gauge the position of the Lion Gate: two great (and alas unsightly) mounds of yellow earth, poured down the hill-side in excavating, aid us in the identification. But to the traveller newly alighted on the platform of Phichtia Mycenæ all this is yet to discover.

The red road we are following runs at right angles to the railway line for a couple of stages to Charvati, round which the carriage way circles on up the slope. As we stand in front of the village and throw stones at a barking dog, a hale old man dressed in the fustanella steps down and introduces himself as the "Pheelax" (φύλαξ), or official "guard". We resign ourselves, therefore to his guidance. Forward from this the points of interest all lie close together. A little further on we leave the road, take a footpath through a stone-strewn crop and are in front of the famous "Treasury of Atreus." This extraordinary building rightly described as beehive in form, is constructed within the hollow interior of a rounded hillock in the upward slope. The topmost stone of the dome can only be a few feet from the top of the hill, and yet the chamber has manifestly been scooped out of the hill, for all without is living rock. The entrance is reached through a passage cut in the natural slope of the hill to the height of the great door-way. This passage, or Diomos, as it is technically called, a hundred feet long and twenty wide, is flanked by masonry carefully smoothed and fitted, and is now shut off by a tall iron gate of which the "Pheelax" keeps the key. The appearance of this entrance must have been very different when Leake saw it early in the nineteenth century. He speaks of the flanking walls "now ruined and for the most part buried beneath the earth which they served to support" and notices that for this reason "the length of the passage can no longer be exactly determined."* This is a little inexplicable, as the walls, the finish of which excites the admiration of all who see them, have not, in the least, the appearance of having been restored, and one prefers

* Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, II, p. 373-4.

to think of them as unaltered since the day when they were fitted in their places by the builder of the subterranean chamber. Leake himself gives them the epithet well-constructed: probably therefore the passage only required clearing. But it is well to remind ourselves from time to time that great part of what we actually see now in viewing the ruins of Greece is the effect of art, and due to the great archaeological revival of our own time. This is still more true of the summit of the rock above us, and, of course, pre-eminently, of the Olympic plain, the acropolis of Athens and the site of Delphi. The Dromos with the lofty, quaintly shaped door-way in which it ends, and the murky spaciousness of the cavernous vault beyond, is strikingly impressive and even surpasses expectation. One may read a dozen times particulars of the height of the door-way, the number of courses of masonry, and the dimensions of the blocks of stone, but these things do not reach to the effect of the first pause before the actual spectacle in terms of stone and darkness. Especially remarkable is that immense stone, so often described and measured, which spans and overlaps the doorway; and the marvel is not only the size and weight of the monolith, but in part also its shape, for it is rounded to the curves of the dome it supports. As Leake says: "In consequence of the form of the building this stone presents within the building a surface curved both horizontally and vertically.†" There are, in fact, two stones forming the lintel of the door, of the same length and thickness, but the inner very much the broader. It is this inner stone which has excited so much wonder. Its dimensions roughly are twenty-eight feet by eighteen, by three feet nine, and the weight is estimated at above a hundred tons.

The triangular aperture over the door sometimes called a 'window,' must almost certainly have held originally a sculptured slab like that above the Lion Gate—possibly the heraldic emblem of the princes of the house of Atreus. The Treasury itself is of considerable size, about fifty feet in diameter and fifty feet high, but the effect it gives is not quite proportionate to the impressiveness of the approach. Within to the right there is a second smaller doorway of a similar shape and structure, leading to a small inner chamber which is square in shape and merely cut in the rock without any artificial casing. In the great chamber there may be counted—with a little perseverance, for the effort strains both neck and eye—some thirty-three courses of masonry from floor to top, all of prepared stone, though the upper courses are less

† Leake, *ib.* p. 375.
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carefully finished. Both chambers are now quite empty except for some curious relics of more recent occupation, a large Huntley & Palmer's biscuit tin, a sardine box and some broken glass. Once it is conjectured the whole of the interior, doors and walls and dome, glittered with bronze plates, fastened to the stone by bronze nails. The plates and nails have long ago disappeared but the marks of nails are found on the doorposts and all over the sides and roof, and in some of these, traces of the bronze may still be detected.

A short walk takes us on to the second Treasury, called of Clytæmnestra, similar in construction to the first, but smaller. We find here, however, some stone-work which in beauty of finish surpasses any in the treasury of Atreus. This is along the first half of the Dromos, which is faced with small blocks of sandstone very finely smoothed; the rest of the approach and the walls of the chamber are of the characteristic pudding-stone. The doorway seems relatively loftier and there is a slight descent to the floor of the chamber. The interior is heaped high with débris, for the whole of the dome has in this case fallen in, letting in light on the mode of construction in a quite literal sense. Both treasuries were doubtless originally tombs.

In the treasury of Clytæmnestra a shower overtakes us, beating in through the open roof; for the day, though fine when we reached Argos, has since been clouding up. But here in Argolis the rain is only refreshing, and beneficently lays the dust. We make on and up the ascent to the Lion Gate, doubtless in the track of many a Homeric champion. In a few minutes we are within the circle of the Agora—truly a magic circle for the wonders that have issued from within it. But the rain continues and we cast about for a shelter. On the left hand side just within the Lion Gate is an opening in the great blocks flanking the entry about four feet square, leading to a low-pitched chamber some six or seven feet either way and perhaps five feet high. It is supposed to be the ancient 'guard-room' of the main gate. Into this we crawl; not a very commodious guard-room we judge it, at least, not for a warrior with a crested helmet and a fifteen-foot spear—*δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος*.—but it serves well enough as a dining-room on a wet day, and we lunch very comfortably on the simple bread and fruit we have carried with us from Tripolitza.

We spend a very happy afternoon in ancient Mycenæ, partly within and about the Agora, partly scrambling over the rock above and below. The rain stops before long and the freshened landscape unfolds to the softened gleams of the declining sun. The view back across the plain of Argos and the

gulf is extraordinarily fine; for if the rock-ledge of Mycenæ is dwarfed from below by the loftier heights behind, it is high enough to give a commanding outlook from the citadel, and there is really a deep ravine on two sides. Only at one point is it attached to the great ridge behind by a narrow neck of rock at the North-East angle and it is worth noting that at this angle the artificial defences are specially strong. The entire area of the summit, roughly triangular in shape, is of considerable extent, about three hundred yards by a hundred-and-fifty, approximately equal to that of the Acropolis at Athens. The whole of this is enclosed within massive walls still in places over thirty feet high and sixteen feet thick. When the wall stood in its first integrity the effect must have been formidable indeed. Much of the masonry has suffered impairment, but there are many fine stretches of wall still left, which may be seen to the best advantage by climbing along the rock outside especially on the North and North-East. Quite enough remains to testify to the original strength of the fortress which under the conditions of early warfare was practically impregnable. When in the fifth century B. C. the jealousy of Argos decreed the destruction of Mycenæ, it was by famine that the citadel was reduced and then without surrender, for the garrison escaped. It is difficult not to be disgusted with the baseness of spirit which prompted the attack: it was because, while Argos held aloof from the Greek cause at the time of Xerxes' invasion, Mycenæ sent eighty men who fought along with Leonidas at Thermopylæ. Yet archaeology probably owes much to the sordid spite of Argos, which has had the wholly undesigned result of keeping Mycenæ almost unchanged for over two thousand years. As Freeman puts it "In the life of cities nothing preserves like early overthrow, nothing destroys like continuous life,"*

The interest of the relics of Mycenæ is by no means to be exhausted in one short afternoon. A rapid general survey and a few vivid impressions, this is all that is possible. It is not advisable to attempt a set description. The Lion-Gate, the Agora, the tombs, the palace on the summit and the stairway that leads to it—these things have been so often described that some freedom of selection may well be allowed—just so much as to convey if possible, some reflex of the actual experience. If a description is wanted, the layman may find all Mycenæ very pleasantly described and discussed in the first chapter of Diehl's compendious "Excursions in Greece;" while for the true mystic the romance of the discovery is unfolded in the pages of Schleimann. Yet to see these things for oneself with one's own eyes is in the highest degree memo-

* Studies of Greece. p. 120.

nable and exhilarating. The least sentimental of scholars must feel some thrill as he stands before the great gateway, built after the primitive fashion of the nursery, as by some gigantic child, with three simple blocks, two uprights and a cross-piece; as he looks upon those headless and mishapen beasts that surmount it, stretching up their long bodies to-day, as they stretched them three thousand years and more ago. Holes and grooves which mark the position of bolts and hinges call up the vision of the great plated door that once barred the way to foemen. The flanking tower to the right reminds us that the men against whom these defences were reared bore a shield on their left arm, and that the root principle of the art of fortification in their time was so to construct the approach to the citadel that assailants were compelled to expose their right or unshielded side to the missiles of the defenders. So it is here, so it is at Tiryns, so we shall find it later at Phyle.

The 'Palace of Agamemnon' is a little disappointing. Nothing is left but the meagre outlines of the foundations and these in spite of the ampler space at Mycenæ indicate a royal residence of even meaner proportions than those of the palace at Tiryns. The stair-case is interesting, and still more so is another on the South-East edge of the rock, supposed to have led to a subterranean reservoir.

The Agora, which in its present state is a double circle of upright stone slabs enclosing the excavated tombs, is an archaeological puzzle. The circle is a little less than thirty yards in diameter, the slabs are comparatively thin slabs, and there is a space of three feet between the two rows: the whole has somewhat the appearance of a miniature Stonehenge. The explanation suggested is both ingenious and plausible. It is that the two circles of upright stones were originally joined by transverse slabs, which so formed the top of a kind of double-tiered stone platform round the Agora on which the counsellors of Mycenæ could either stand or sit. There are faint traces of a line about the middle of the inner row of stones where the lower step or seat may be supposed to have projected. In the Iliad the "Agora" is just the circle of warriors called together to be harangued by the chiefs, and the circular form of the permanent Agora may have arisen in this way. In the sixth book of the Odyssey the Agora of the Phæacians is described as 'set with huge stone-blocks deep-bedded,'* and Euripides in his Orestes, the scene of which is, of course, Mycenæ actually speaks of the Agora there as a 'circle.'† All this fits in with the supposition that the Agora

* ῥυτοῖσιν ἰλᾶεσαι κατωρυχέσσιν ἀραρυῖα

† ὀλιγάκις ἔστυ κάγορός χρόνων κύκλον

of ancient Mycenæ, was circular, and that the remains of the Agora of Mycenæ are here in these stone circles.

The tombs are deep below the floor of the Agora and lay under the very feet of the elders of Mycenæ when assembled in Council. The large tomb supposed to have contained the body of Agamemnon is the deepest. There are six tombs in all within the area enclosed by the circuit of slabs—Schleimann's five tombs, and a sixth excavated a little later by the Greek Archæological Society. We only realise the significance of these strange trenches cut so deep down in the rock, when we examine the contents of the wonderful cases in the Mycenæ Room of the National Museum at Athens. No more splendid prize has ever rewarded the faith and patience of the excavator.*

Mycenæ should not be visited without some homage paid in thought to the explorer to whose perseverance, liberality and devotion is due the restoration to the light of so much of interest that we see. The story of Henry Schleimann who as a boy dreamt of finding Ilium and after various vicissitudes of fortune became a rich merchant and lived to carry out his dream is itself full of interest. Ilium was Schleimann's first and supreme love, but his work at Mycenæ, if secondary in the story of his life, has been even more fruitful for the service of archæology. Whether the tombs under the Agora are the tombs of Agamemnon and his henchmen is a minor matter,—Schleimann unearthed from within that circuit of slabs on the traditional site of Mycenæ is nothing less than a forgotten civilization, complete in every detail. Of this there can be no doubt, and there can be no reasonable doubt that the civilization, first brought to light at Mycenæ and since supplemented by discoveries in other places is the civilization of Homeric Greece. Schleimann began his work at Mycenæ in 1874; his most remarkable success, the discovery of the tombs, was achieved in November 1876. What the site of Mycenæ owes to Schleimann is quickly recognized by recalling what visitors found there previous to his work on the site.

* A good idea may be given of the extent and value of this find by merely enumerating the chief things taken from a single tomb (the fourth and largest), filling fifteen cases in the Mycenæ Room: three golden masks; ten cups and a two-handled vase, all of gold; a silver bull's head with golden horns; two signet-rings superbly carved, one representing a scene, the other a battle; golden spangles for dresses, bracelets, pins and numerous other gold ornaments, swords and spear-heads beautifully chased; numerous other weapons too time-eaten to judge of the work upon them; tripods and brazen vessels both large and small in great number. It is the fifth tomb which has been conjectured to be Agamemnon's. This contains a very state-y-looking bearded mask, which, if, we may credit Schleimann's hypothesis must represent the very features of Agamemnon himself.

The Lion Gate, the Cyclopean walls and the so-called 'Treasures' were familiar to travellers since the time of Pausanias. Not only the tombs, but the whole Agora, and the palace on the summit were hidden, till Sebleimann's labours revealed them.

If we ask how the tombs are connected with Agamemnon and his tragic end the answer is simple. Pausanias in describing what he found at Mycenae, after mention of the Lion Gate, the walls and the Treasures, enumerates a number of tombs—the tomb of Atreus and the tombs of Agamemnon, and those who perished with him,—four (or, perhaps, five) in all. On the strength of this Schleimann assumed that his five tombs were the very tombs seen by Pausanias, or rather vaults under stelae or tombstones, originally set up above ground in the Agora, which stelae also Schleimann believed himself to have discovered. The weak point of the theory is that there is nothing to indicate whether the tombs shown to Pausanias were on the Acropolis, or like the Treasures which he mentions next before them in the lower city: he does not say one word about the Agora. Schleimann's hypothesis, therefore, though excellent guess-work and fascinating to believe, cannot be regarded as wholly proved.

We turned our backs regretfully on the Lion Gate and the Treasures, and the Cyclopean walls of Mycenae. We even had to hurry over the red soil of the road, now made sticky with the rain, lest the 'express' from Corinth should reach Phictia before us. By 6 o'clock we were back in Argos.

H. R. J.

ART. VI.—THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE PURANAS.
(INDEPENDENT SECTION.)

THE name Purana, which implies "old," indicates the object of the compilation to be the preservation of ancient traditions. The description given by Mr. Colebrooke of the contents of a Purana is taken from Sanskrit writers. The Lexicon of Amara Sinha gives as a synonym of Purana, Pancha-lakshanam, that which has five characteristic topics, and there is no difference of opinion among scholars as to what these are. 1.—Primary creation or cosmogony; 2.—Secondary creation or the destruction and renovation of worlds, including chronology; 3.—Genealogy of gods and patriarchs; 4.—Reigns of the Manus, or periods called Manwantaras; and 5.—History, or such particulars as have been preserved of the princes of the solar and lunar races and of their descendants to modern times.

The different works known by the name of Purana are evidently derived from the same religions as the Ramayana and Mahabharata, or from the mytho-heroic stage of Hindu belief. They present, however, peculiarities which designate their belonging to a later period, and to an important modification in the progress of opinion. They repeat the theoretical cosmogony of the two great poems; they expand and systematise the chronological computations; and they give a more definite and connected representation of the mythological fictions and the historical traditions. But besides these and other particulars, which may be derived from an old, if not from a primitive, era they offer characteristic peculiarities of a more modern description, in the paramount importance which they assign to individual divinities in the variety and purport of the rites and observances addressed to them, and in the invention of new legends illustrative of the power and graciousness of those deities, and of the efficacy of implicit devotion to them. Siva and Vishnu under one or other of them are almost the sole objects that claim the homage of the Hindus in the Puranas, departing from the domestic and elementary ritual of the Vedas, and exhibiting a sectarian fervour and exclusiveness not traceable in the Ramayana, and only to a qualified extent in the Mahabharata.

No doubt many of the Puranas, as they now are, correspond with the view which Col. Vans Kennedy takes of their purport. "I cannot discover in them," he remarks, "any other object than that of religious instruction." The description of the earth and the planetary system, and the lists of royal races

which occur in them he asserts to be evidently extraneous, and not essential circumstances, as they are entirely omitted in some Puranas, and very concisely illustrated in others; while, on the contrary, in all the Puranas, some or other of the leading principles, rites and observances of the Hindu religion are fully dwelt upon, and illustrated either by suitable legends or by prescribing the ceremonies to be practised, and the prayers and invocations to be employed, in the worship of different deities. Now, however accurate this description may be of the Puranas as they are, it is clear that it does not apply to what they were when they were synonymously described as *Pancha-lakshanas*, or treatises on five topics, not one of which five is ever specified by text or comment to be religious instruction. In the knowledge of Amar Sinha the lists of princes were not extraneous and unessential, and they are being now so considered by a writer so well acquainted with the contents of the Puranas as Col. Vans Kennedy is a decisive proof that since the days of the lexicographer they have undergone some material alteration, and that we have not at present the same works in all respects that were current under the denomination of Puranas in the century prior to Christianity. Besides, there is internal evidence leading to the same conclusion, for although the Puranas have no dates attached to them, yet circumstances are sometimes mentioned or alluded to, or references to authorities are made, or legends are narrated, or places are particularised, of which the comparative recent date is indisputable. At the same time they may be acquitted of subservience to any but sectarian imposture. They were pious frauds for temporary purposes: they never emanated from any impossible combination of the Brahmins to fabricate for the antiquity of the entire Hindu system, any claims which it cannot fully support.

A very great portion of the contents of many, some portion of the contents of all, is genuine and old. The sectarian interpolation or embellishment is always sufficiently palpable to be set aside, without injury to the more authentic and primitive material and the Puranas, although they belong especially to that stage of the Hindu religion in which faith in some one divinity was the prevailing principle, are also a valuable record of the form of Hindu belief which came next in order to that of the Vedas; which grafted hero worship upon the simple ritual of the latter; and which had been adopted, and was extensively, perhaps universally established in India at the time of the Greek invasion.

The Pantheism of the Puranas is one of their invariable characteristics, although the particular divinity who is all things, from whom all things proceed, and to whom all

hings return, is diversified according to their sectarian bias. They seem to have derived the notion from the Vedas ; but in them the one universal being is of a higher order than a personification of attributes or elements, and however imperfectly conceived, or unworthily described, is God. In the Puranas the one only Supreme Being is supposed to be manifest in the person of Siva or Vishnu, either in the way of illusion or sport, and one or other of those divinities is therefore also the cause of all that is, is himself that exists.

The identity of God and nature is not a new notion ; it was very general in the speculations of antiquity, but it assumed a new vigour in the early ages of Christianity and was carried to an equal pitch of extravagance by the Platonic Christians as by the Siva and Vaishnava Hindus.

The Purans are evidently works of different ages, and have been compiled under different circumstances, the precise nature of which we can but imperfectly conjecture from internal evidence, and from what we know of religious opinion in India. It is highly probable that of the present popular forms of the Hindu religion, none assumed their actual state earlier than the time of Sankara Achargya, the great Saiva reformer, who flourished in all likelihood in the eighth or ninth century. Of the Vaishnava teachers, Ramanuja dates from the twelfth century. Madhwacharya from the thirteenth and Vallabha from the sixteenth, and the Puranas seem to have accompanied or followed their innovations, being obviously intended to advocate the doctrines they taught.

The invariable form of the Puranas is that of a dialogue in which some person relates its contents in reply to the enquiries of another. This dialogue is interwoven with others, which are repeated as having been held on other occasions between different individuals, in consequence of similar questions being asked. The immediate narrator is commonly, though not constantly, Lomaharshana, the disciple of Vyasa, who is supposed to communicate what is imparted to him by his preceptor as he had heard it from some other sage. Vyasa is a generic title meaning "an arranger or compiler." It is in this age applied to Krishna Dwaipayana, the son of Parasara, who is said to have taught the Vedas and Puranas to various disciples, but who appears to have been the head of a college or school, under whom various learned men gave to the sacred literature of the Hindus the form in which it now presents itself.

The Puranas are eighteen in number, *viz.* :—1. Brahma ; 2. Padma ; 3. Vaishnava ; 4. Saiva ; 5. Bhagavata ; 6. Narada ; 7. Markanda ; 8. Agnaya ; 9. Bhavishya ; 10. Brahma-Vaivarta ; 11. Linga ; 12. Varaha ; 13. Skanda ; 14. Vamsea ; 15. Kaurma ; 16. Matsya ; 17. Garuda ; 18. Brahmanda. They

are classed under three heads : Satwika or pure, Tamasa or dark and Rajasa or passionate. The Vishnu, Naradiya, Bhagavata, Garuda, Padma, and Varaha Puranas are Satwika from the predominance in them of the Satwa quality or that of goodness and purity. They are Vaishnava Puranas. The Matsya Kauima, Linga, Siva, Skanda and Agni Puranas are Tamasa from the prevalence of the quality of Tamas, ignorance. They are Saiva Puranas. The third series comprising the Brahmonda, Brahma, Vaivarta, Markandeya, Bhavishya, Vamana and Brahma Puranas are designated as Rajasa from Rajas, the property of passion which they are supposed to represent.

1 —BRAHMA PURANA.

The early chapters of this work give a description of the creation, an account of the Manwantaras, and the history of the solar and lunar dynasties of the time of Krishna, in a summary manner, and in words which are common to it and several other Puranas, a brief description of the universe succeeds ; and then come a number of chapters relating to the holiness of Orissa, with its temples and sacred groves dedicated to the Sun, to Siva, and Jagannath, the latter especially. Their main object is to promote the worship of Krishna as Jagannath. To those particulars succeeds a life of Krishna which is word for word the same as that of the Vishnu Purana ; and the compilation terminates with a particular detail of the mode in which yoga or contemplative devotion, the object of which is still Vishnu, is to be performed. There is little in this which corresponds with the definition of a Pancha-lakshana Purana ; and the mention of the temples of Orissa, the date of the original construction of which is recorded, shows that it could not have been compiled earlier than the thirteenth or fourteenth century. This Purana contains 10,000 stanzas.

2.—PADMA PURANA.

“That which contains an account of the period when the world was a golden lotus (padma), and of all the occurrences at the close, is therefore called the Padma by the wise ; it contains 55,000 stanzas.” It is divided into five books or Khandas : 1. Srishti Khanda or section on creation ; 2. Bhumi Khanda, description of the earth ; 3. Swarga Khanda, chapter on heaven ; 4. Patala Khanda, chapter on the regions below the earth, and the Uttar Khanda, last or supplementary chapter. There is also current a sixth division, the Kriya Yoga Sar, a treatise on the practice of devotion.

3.—VISHNU PURANA.

“That in which Parasara, beginning with the events of the Varaha Kalpa, expounds all duties, is called the Vaishnava ; and the learned know its contents to be 23,000 stanzas.” It

most closely conforms to the definition of a Pancha-lakshana Purana or one which treats of five specified topics. The first book of the six into which the work is divided is occupied chiefly with the details of creation primary (Swarga) and secondary (Pratiswarga) : the first explaining how the universe proceeds from Prakriti or eternal crude matter, the second in what manner the forms of things are developed from the elementary substances previously evolved, or how they reappear after their temporary destruction. Swayambhuva, the son of the self-born or uncreated, and his wife Satarupa the hundred-formed or multiform, are themselves allegories ; and their female descendants who become the wives of the Rishis are Faith, Devotion, Content, Intelligence, Tradition and the like ; whilst among their posterity we have the different phases of the moon and the sacrificial fires. In another creation the chief source of creatures is the patriarch Daksha (ability) whose daughters, virtues or passions or astronomical phenomena, are the mothers of all existing things. The legends of Druva and Prahlada are in all probability ancient, but they are amplified in a strain conformable to Vaishnava purport of this Purana, by doctrines and prayers asserting the identity of Vishnu with the Supreme.

The second book opens with a continuation of the Kings of the first Manwantara ; amongst whom Bharat is said to have given a name to India called after him Bharatvarsha. The arrangement of the Vedas and other sacred writings is contained in the beginning of the third book. This arrangement must have been made at some time prior to the accounts of India by Greek writers in which we see enough of the system to justify our inferring that it was then entire. The antiquity or authenticity of the greater portion of the Puranas is evident from the abundant positive and circumstantial evidence of the prevalence of the doctrines which they teach, the currency of the legends which they narrate, and the integrity of the institutions which they describe, at least three centuries before the Christian era. The remainder of the third book describes the leading institutions of the Hindus, the duties of castes, the obligations of different stages of life, and the celebration of obsequial rites, in a short but primitive strain, and in harmony with the laws of Manu. It is a distinguishing feature of the Vishnu Puran, and it is characteristic of its being the work of an earlier period than most of the Puranas that it enjoins no sectarian or other acts of supererogation : no vratas, occasional self-imposed observances, no holidays, no birthdays of Krishna, no nights declared to Lakshmi, no sacrifices nor modes of worship other than those conformable to the ritual of the Vedas.

The fourth book contains all that the Hindus have of their ancient history, from which we learn that the Hindu dynasties

and their ramifications were spread through an interval of, about twelve centuries anterior to the war of the Mahabharata conjecturing that event to have happened about fourteen centuries before Christianity, thus carrying the commencement of the regal dynasties of India to about 2,600 years before that date.

The circumstances that are told of the first princes have evident relation to the colonisation of India, and the gradual extension of the authority of new races over an uninhabited or uncivilised nation. The fifth book is exclusively occupied with the life of Krishna which differs from the account given in the Mahabharata of his juvenile frolics, of his sports in Vrindaban, his pastimes with the cow-boys, or even his destruction of the Asuras sent to kill him. These stories have all a modern complexion; they do not harmonise with the tone of the ancient legends, which is generally grave, and sometimes majestic, they are the creations of a puerile taste and grovelling imagination. The last book contains an account of the dissolution of the world, both in its major and minor cataclysms.

4.—VAYAVIYA PURANA.

“The Purana in which Vayu has declared the laws of duty, in connexion with the Sweta Kalpa, and which comprises the Mahatmya of Rudra, is the Vayaviya Purana. It contains 24,000 verses.”

5.—SRI BHAGAVATA.

“That in which ample details of duty are described, and which opens with an extract from the Gayatri, that in which the death of the Asura Vritra is told, and in which the mortals and immortals of the Saraswata Kalpa; with the events that then happened to them in the world, are related; that is celebrated as the Bhagavata and consists of 18,000 verses.” The Bhagavata is a work of great celebrity in India, and exercises a more direct and powerful influence upon the opinions and feelings of the people than perhaps any of the Puranas.

The course of the narration opens with a cosmogony, which although in most respects similar to that of other Puranas is more largely intermixed with allegory and mysticism and derives its tone from the Vedanta than the Sankhya philosophy. The doctrine of the active creation by the Supreme, as one with Vasudeva, is more distinctly asserted, with a more decided enunciation of the effects being resolvable into Maya or illusion. There are also doctrinal peculiarities highly characteristic of this Purana, amongst which is the assertion that it was originally communicated by Brahma to Narada, that all men whatsoever, Hindus of every caste, and

even Mlechchas, outcasts or barbarians, might learn to have faith in Vasudeva.

6.—NARADA PURANA.

"Where Narada has described the duties which were observed in Vrihat Kalpa, that is called Naradiya, having 25,000 verses." It is principally intended to support the doctrine of Bhakti, or faith in Vishnu.

7.—MARKANDIA PURANA.

"That Purana in which commencing with the story of the birds that were acquainted with right and wrong, everything is narrated fully by Markandiya, containing 9,000 verses." Among other important matters it contains the long episodic narrative of the actions of the goddess Durga. It is the Chandipatha or Durga Mahatmya in which the victories of the goddess over different evil beings or Asuras, are detailed with considerable power and spirit. It is read daily in the temples of Durga, and furnishes the pomp and circumstance of the great festival of Bengal, the Durga Puja, or public worship of that goddess.

8.—AGNI PURANA.

"That Purana which describes the occurrences of the Isana Kalpa, and was related by Agni to Vasishtha for the purpose of instructing in the two-fold knowledge of Brahma, is called the Agniya, consisting of 16,000 stanzas." It contains a description of the Avatars, and in those of Rama and Krishna avowedly follows the Ramayana and Mahabharata. The work winds up with treatises on rhetoric, prosody, and grammar according to the Sutras of Pingala and Panini.

9.—BHAVISHYA PURANA.

"The Purana in which Brahma, having described the greatness of the sun, explained to Manu the existence of the world and the characters of all created things, in the course of the Aghora Kalpa, is called the Bhavishya, the stories being for the most part the events of a future period. It contains 14,500 stanzas."

It explains the ten Sanskaras or initiatory rites; the performance of the Sandhya; the reverence to be shown to a Guru; the duties of the different Asramas and castes; and enjoins a number of Vratas or observances of fasting and the like, appropriate to different lunar days.

10.—BRAHMA-VAIVARTTA PURANA

"That Purana which is related by Savarni to Narada and contains the account of the greatness of Krishna with the occurrences of the Rathantara Kalpa, where also the story of Brahma Varaha is repeatedly told, is called the Brahma-Vaivartta and contains 18,000 stanzas." It is divided into four khandas or books; the Brahma, Prakriti, Ganesha, and Krishna

Janma Khandas dedicated severally to describe the acts of Brahma, Devi, Ganesa, and Krishna.

11.—LINGA PURANA.

"Where Maheswara, present in the Agni Linga, explained the objects of life, virtue, wealth, pleasure, and final liberation at the end of the Agni Kalpa, that Purana, consisting of 11,000 stanzas, was called the Linga by Brahma himself." It narrates legends, enjoins rites, recites prayers intending to do honor to Siva under various forms. The Linga is two-fold external and internal. The ignorant who need a visible sign, worship Siva through a mark or type which is the proper meaning of the word 'Linga'—of wood or stone; but the wise look upon this outward emblem as nothing and contemplate in their minds the invisible inscrutable type which is Siva himself.

12.—VARAHA PURANA.

"That in which the glory of the great Varaha is predominant, as it was revealed to earth by Vishnu, in connexion with Munis, with the Manava Kalpa, and which contains 24,000 verses, is called the Varaha Purana. Like the Linga Purana, it is a religious manual almost wholly occupied with forms of prayer and rules for devotional observances, addressed to Vishnu, interspersed with legendary illustrations.

13.—SCANDA PURANA.

"The Scanda Purana is that in which the six-faced deity Scanda has related the events of the Satpurusha Kalpa, enlarged with many tales and subservient to the duties taught by Maheswara. It is said to contain 81,100 stanzas"

14.—VAMANA PURANA.

"That in which the four-faced Brahma taught the three objects of existence, as subservient to the account of the greatness of Trivikrama, which treats also of the Siva Kalpa and which consists of 10,000 stanzas, is called the Vamana Purana." It contains principally an account of the dwarf incarnation of Vishnu.

15.—KURMA PURANA.

"That in which Janarddana in the form of a tortoise, in the regions under the earth, explained the objects of life—duty, wealth, pleasure, and liberation—communication with Indra—Dyumna and the Rishis in the proximity of Sukra, which refers to the Laksmi Kalpa and contains 17,000 stanzas, is the Kurma Purana." The name being that of an Avatar of Vishnu might lead us to expect a Vaishnava work, but it is always and correctly classed with the Siva Puranas, the greater portion of it inculcating the worship of Siva and Durga.

16.—MATSYA PURANA.

"That in which, for the sake of promulgating the Vedas, Vishnu in the beginning of a Kalpa related to Manu the story of Narasinha and the events of seven Kalpas is called the Matsya Purana, containing 20,000 stanzas." It is a miscellaneous compilation, but including in its contents the elements of a genuine Purana.

17.—GARUDA PURANA.

"That which Vishnu recited in the Garuda Kalpa, relating chiefly to the birth of Garuda from Vinata, is here called the Garuda Purana, and in it there are 19,000 stanzas." It contains among other things treatises on astrology, palmistry, and precious stones and medicine.

18.—BRAHMANDA PURANA.

"That which had declared in 12,200 verses the magnificence of the egg of Brahma and in which an account of the future Kalpas is contained, is called the Brahmamda Purana and was revealed by Brahma."

The Upa-Puranas differ little in extent or subject from some of those to which the title of Purana is ascribed. The Matsya enumerates but four; but the Devi Bhagavata has a more complete list, and specifies eighteen. These authorities are of unquestionable weight, and having in view, no doubt, the pretensions of the Devi Bhagavat to be considered as the authentic Bhagavata.

From the foregoing synopsis of the contents of the eighteen Puranas it appears that they form the backbone of the existing system of Hindu religion. Hindu religion underwent a gradual change until the Vedic system was thoroughly replaced by Pauranik Hinduism. Elaborate religious rites took the place of the Vedic sacrifices and image worship was introduced. As remarked by Mr. R. C. Dutt, "the essential and cardinal doctrines of both forms of Hinduism are identical. They both recognise one Great God—the all pervading breath, the universal soul—Brahma, they both maintain that the universe is an emanation from Him and will resolve into Him, they both recognise rewards and punishments in after-life or lives according to our deeds in this world, and they both insist on the final absorption of our souls in the Great Deity. But while identical in essential principles the two forms of Hinduism differ in minor doctrines and observances. The main difference in doctrine is, that the Vedic religion insists on the worship of the manifestations of nature, called Indra or Surjya, Agni or Varuna, and led up to the worship of the Great Deity. The Pauranik religion, on the other hand, worshipped the Great Deity in his three-fold power of creation, preservation and destruction under the names of Brahma, Vishnu

and Maheswara, and legends of other gods and goddesses were added to fill the popular imagination."

The Puranas are divided into three classes, *viz.*, those sacred to Brahma, Vishna and Siva respectively. They are very voluminous, containing about 400,000 slokas or couplets of verses. They were principally composed in the Vikramadityan age, *i.e.*, in the two centuries and a half from 500 to 750 A. D., although they may have been largely added to in subsequent times, even after the Mahomedan conquest. While the Puranas narrate the legends of gods and goddesses and inculcate image-worship, another class of works called the Dharma Shastras lay down rules of action for men. The principal compilers of these Shastras were Parasara and Vyasa.

At a later period were composed the Tantras which were calculated to counteract the evil influences of the Sankhya philosophy and the Charvak or Atheistical school. There were now two rival classes of Pundits, namely, those belonging to the Vedic and those belonging to the Tantric schools. Each of them considers his rivals as the exponents of a false or mistaken religion. This antagonism is highly objectionable and based on a misunderstanding of the true spirit of the Hindu scriptures, from the Vedas to the Tantras. There is a substantial agreement in these religious works as to the fundamental principles of Hinduism, although there may be minor differences as to the modes of worship or rites and ceremonies. Neither nature-worship or image-worship is idolatrous, both are intended to offer worship to one Supreme God through the medium either of nature or of image.

As nature-worship is worship of God in Nature, so image-worship is worship of God through an image. The Hindu does not worship the clay or stone image before him, but conceives the attributes of the Deity through the medium of an image which serves only to fix his mind. True religion is *Samihya*, feeling the presence of God, *Sayujya*, being one with Him, and *Salokya*, living in Him. These are the principal elements of Divine Service and religious conduct universally adopted throughout the civilised world. If the Hindu method of worship is idolatrous, then all systems of religion which prescribe the worship of God in a particular form are also idolatrous, for they all have their ideals, and what are idols if not the external representations of their ideals? "Idol," says Carlyle, "is *eidolon*, a thing seen, a symbol of God. The most rigorous Puritan has his confession of faith and intellectual representation of Divine things and worships thereby. All creeds, liturgies, religious forms, conceptions, that fitly invest religious things, are in this sense *eidola* things, seen.

All worship whatsoever must proceed by symbols, by idols, we may say all idolatry is comparative and the worst idolatry is only more idolatrous."

The Hindu welcomes all modes of worship the progressive stages being from image-worship to mental worship, and from mental contemplation of the Deity to union with Him. So long as there are diversities in intellectual, moral and spiritual advancement in a society, there must be divers methods of worship and various conceptions of Divinity. To adopt one uniform system for persons of different culture is practically to do away with worship altogether.

Prayer is the spontaneous outburst of deep emotions towards the Deity. Sincere and fervent devotion constitutes the essence of prayer. So long as one has a firm faith in and profound veneration for God, it is immaterial how he worships or prays to Him.

The Bhagavat Geeta lays down liberal principles of prayer.

যে যথা মায় প্রপদ স্তে তাংস্তথৈব ভজ্যমাহং

"I am equally propitiated by whatever methods men may choose to worship me."

The firm faith in Vishnu has been beautifully illustrated in the portraiture of two characters Druva and Prahlada, fully developed in the Vishnu Purana which I single out as the best type for exhibiting the rational and primary object of the Puranas. It is needless to enter into minute details of the contents of the whole work, and so I have simply given a brief sketch of the salient points with such philosophical exposition as reasonably suggests itself. I now proceed to show from the characters Druva and Prahlada that the former exemplifies unfaltering and invincible faith in God with desires (Sakambhakti), the latter that without desires (Nishkambhakti). Druva and Uttama were the two sons of Utnanpada, the former by his wife Suniti, the latter by his favorite wife Suruchi. Stung by the reproaches of his step-mother for desiring to sit on his father's lap with his brother, Druva quitted his father's palace consoling his mother with the assurance that he would exert himself to obtain such elevated rank that it should be revered by the whole world. He went to some Rishis and asked of them advice how to attain to such elevated position. The instructions of the Rishis amount to the performance of the *yoga*. External impressions are first to be obviated by particular positions, modes of breathing, etc., the mind must then be fixed on the object of meditation: this is Dharana; next comes the meditation or Dhyana; and then the Japa or inaudible repetition of a Mantra or short prayer.

Alarmed by the child's fixed devotion to *yoga*, the gods conspired to throw various obstacles in his way but failed. Propitiated by his devotion, Vishnu rewarded Druva with the exalted station he prayed for, giving him precedence before the gods.

The life of Druva teaches this golden lesson : God helps those who help themselves. A dogged determination to accomplish what one has set his heart upon, undaunted by difficulties and obstacles, is sure to be crowned with success. Indiscreet favouritism spoils children rather than promotes their true welfare. A sense of security that one has nothing to want for, and a consequent love of ease and luxury, are sure to undermine the vital energies essential to success in life. The Raja blinded by his uxoriousness could not discern nor had the moral courage to acknowledge true manliness in Druva. In fact Druva was the off-spring of good conduct (*Sunithi*) and Uttama of nice desires (*Suuchi*).

The legend of Prahlada is equally interesting and edifying.

Hiranyakashipu, the king of the *Dutyas*, was an atheist or disbeliever in Vishnu. Enraged with his son Prahlada, who would on no account change his firm faith in Vishnu, the king devised various expedients to kill the child, but signally failed; whom through God's mercy fire would not burn, nor weapons pierce, nor serpents bite ; whom the pestilential gale could not blast, nor poison, nor magic spells, nor incantations destroy ; who fell from the loftest heights unhurt ; who foiled the elephants of the spheres to destroy, or the waves of the sea to swallow him up.

These events in the life of Prahlada may be considered impossible or miraculous, but they are quite consistent and reconcilable with the teachings of Christ " Verily I say unto you if ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, remove hence to yonder place, and it shall remove, and nothing shall be impossible unto you."—St. Matthew xvii, 20.

But whether considered possible or impossible, the story is calculated to remove atheism and show the sovereign efficacy of faith. The life of Prahlada is a practical illustration of the characteristic features of a pious and faithful soul as described in the *Bhagavat Gæta*.

" He is dear to me, who has no hatred for anything, who is friendly and compassionate, who is free from egoism, who has no vanity, who is alike in pleasure and pain, who is forgiving, contented, always devoted, whose self is subdued, purpose is firm, mind and understanding are fixed in me.—xii, 13, 14."

All these virtues are found in Prahlada. Although his father is implacable in enmity towards him, he prays to God

to forgive him ; he does not arrogate any credit to himself for his wonderful and miraculous escapes, but attributes them to divine energy ; he is constantly devout and firm in purpose as nothing can shake his faith in God. Meditating upon Vishnu as identified with his own spirit Prahlada became as one with him, and finally regarded himself as the divinity ; he forgot entirely his own individuality and was conscious of nothing else than his being the inexhaustible eternal, supreme soul ; and in consequence of the efficacy of this connection of identity, the imperishable Vishnu whose essence is wisdom, became present in his heart, which was wholly free from sin.

The fourth book of Vishnu Purana is entirely devoted to recounting Krishna's birth and various exploits.

In the Bhagavat Geeta (iv, 8) we find Krishna's motive of his incarnation. "I take birth age after age for the protection of the good and destruction of the wicked and for the establishment of piety (true religion)." In place of this simple declaration we have an elaborate allegorical account in the Vishnu Purana to the same effect. Earth oppressed by Kansa and other demons repaired to Mount Meru to an assembly of gods to find redress. Taking up her cause the gods headed by Brahma approached Vishnu and solicited his aid. We find such epithets used in Brahma's *stotra* or hymn addressed to Vishnu as make him identified with God. "Thou art one supreme ; thou art the supreme and eternal state which he wise behold with the eye of knowledge. There is nothing else but thou, O Lord, nothing else has been or will be."

When Brahma had ended, Vishnu plucked off two hairs, one white and one black, and said to the gods, "these my hairs shall descend upon earth, and shall relieve her of the burden of her distress. This my black hair shall be impersonated in the eighth conception of the wife of Vasudeva, Devaki who is like a goddess and shall slay Kansa, who is the demon Kalanemi."

After Krishna's birth he was conveyed by Vasudeva to Mathura and exchanged with the new-born daughter of Yasoda. Kansa attempts to destroy the latter who becomes Yoganidra. Nanda returns with the infants Krishna and Balarama to Gokula. Some time after they were settled there, the female fiend Putana, the child killer, came thither by night and finding the little Krishna asleep took him up and gave him her breast to suck. Now whatever child is suckled in the night by Putana dies. But Krishna laying hold of the breast with both hands sucked it with such violence, that he drained it of life and so the fiend died. After this the child Krishna is found to overturn a waggon and cast down two trees. Then he combats the serpent Kaliya and compels him to depart with family from the Yamuna river to the ocean.

Krishna dissuades the Gopas from the worship of Indra, who offended by the loss of his offerings, causes heavy rain to deluge Gokula. Krishna holds up the mountain Govardhana to shelter the cowherds and their cattle. The further exploits of Krishna are his killing the demon Arishta in the form of a bull and Kesin in the form of a horse, making Kubja straight and slaying Kansa, Naraka and Paundraka. Krishna himself is shot by a hunter and again becomes one with the universal spirit.

These adventures of Krishna look like miracles similar to those recorded to have been wrought by Christ. If tradition and history can be relied upon in establishing the truth of the Biblical miracles, there are similar good grounds for believing in the authenticity of the Pauranik miracles. If Christ is an Incarnation of the Deity, Krishna is also such an Incarnation. What is extraordinary or miraculous to a human being with limited powers is ordinary and possible to an Omnipotent Being. Divine attribute or force by super-adding to itself human faculties does not become divested of its superhuman potency. And if incarnation means the highest development of human perfection, that is to say when such perfection makes a near approach to the Divine essence, there is no reason to believe that the super-human power is affected or deteriorates itself in the transformation. God does not cease to be as such by becoming a Man-God, nor does man remain only as such by being a God-Man. In the one case there is retention, in the other, there is acquisition of superhuman power.

But the task of affording a rationable explanation of Krishna's intimate connection with Radha and the Gopis is yet more difficult. Spiritual truths are not easy of comprehension to men of ordinary intellect. The policy of our Shastric writers in the Pauranik times was to give those truths an anthropomorphic character so as to attract ordinary minds and to ~~leave~~ to really cultured people, by process of rational dissection, to get at the isoteric reality. The whole of the Puranas bristles with stories and fable containing valuable truths in allegorical forms. It should be our prime business not to treat such fables as cock-and-bull stories and grandmother's tales, but to try to understand their true import or spiritual significance.

Now let us see what is the isoteric meaning of Krishna, Radha and Gopi. Krishna denotes the great power which tills up our psychic soil. It comes from the same Sanskrit root from which *karsuna* (cultivation) comes. Radha is the abbreviation of *aradha* (prayerfulness). She wants communion and companionship with the Lord of her heart. She is the initial

Prakriti, the spiritual force of Krishna and the mistress of cosmos. In its gross sense Radha is *Prakriti* (desire) personified. When allied to Krishna or *nibritti* (sans attributes) she becomes *nibritti* herself.

The conception of Radha is something akin to the Holy Ghost. According to Gopal Tapani Gopi signifies a natural force which sustains and preserves the kosmos. It comes from the Sanskrit root *gop* which means to sustain or preserve. Krishna is described as Gopi-Jana-ballabha, or the beloved of the Gopis or sustaining forces. We read in the Puranas that Krishna was the lord of 16,000 Gopis or master of innumerable natural forces. His favourite Gopis were Gopali, Lalita, Dhanya &c., which names are all significant. The word *gop* is equal to *go* and *pa*. *Go* means Vedic mantras and *pa* is to support. The word *Ali* means a companion. Thus *Gopali*, which is equal to *Gop* and *Ali* therefore implies companionship in the preservation of Vedism. *Lalita* implies the power or force of preservation. *Dhanya* is one who feels herself blessed in the contemplation of divine love. Krishna is appropriately equipped with a *sanbha* (conch-shell) a *chakra* (disc), *gada* (club) and *padma* (lotus). By the medium of the first he proclaims the true dharma (duty) to man. The disc represents the mystery of divine government, while the *gada* (club), the judge's rod of punishment for the wicked, and the lotus, the reward for the good. The esoteric significance of the Rasalila is nothing more than the bringing about of a spiritual unification or *Moksha* with the Supreme Lover through the medium of *Prema* or love.

The real Harnama is done not with the aid of wooden beads, but with the beads of respiration, i.e., by Pranayama or regulation of the vital breath. Here the Vaishnava formula follows the lines of Patanjala. The effect of the practice is the development of our occult powers, the total annihilation of our selfishness and evolution of God-seeing powers in our innerself. It was the development of this power which enabled the Vedantist to publish to the Aryan-world the doctrine of *সোহং* or I and He are the same, and Jesus to declare that He and His Father were one.

And now I conclude this paper with the following exhortation. When the sacred Vedas will revivify our spiritual life, when the sublime doctrines of the Upanishads will dispel the mists of superstition and ignorance, when the liberal teachings of the Geeta will purify the soul and enlighten the intellect, when the practical lessons of the Puranas and the Tantras will teach us the best methods of preserving our social status as Hindus and improving our morals by duly performing

the hourly, daily, and periodical duties of Divine worship, benevolence and paternal reverence,—then only shall we succeed in preserving the purity and strengthening the bonds of our society.

K. C. KANJILAL, B.L.

ART. VII.—THE ASSAM TEA GARDEN LABOUR QUESTION. .

LABOUR questions are to-day all over the world among the very first questions of the hour. In many countries in one form or another they are in an acute stage, in some they are perpetually cropping up, and in nearly all there are some industries, for the furtherance of which the obtaining of labour from foreign sources seems a necessity if the industry is to exist and thrive, or there is some jealousy which would exclude the foreign labour which would pour into them if it might.

In India the Labour Question of the day is that concerning the Assam tea garden supply. Assam, though within the Indian Empire, is really a foreign country in respect of those districts from which it obtains the large majority of its labourers. With the one exceptional circumstance of being ultimately under the rule of the Government of India, Assam is as completely a foreign country to Chota Nagpur, the Central Provinces, Madras, the North-West Provinces, and other parts of India, as Russia is foreign to Germany, Austria, Italy, France, England and other European countries. Assam is indeed as regards climate, race, language, and geographical position, more foreign to the Province, or Division, of Chota Nagpur, from which the great majority and very flower of its labourers come, than many European countries are one from another.

It is necessary to bear the climatic, racial, linguistic, and geographical differences of the labour districts of Assam, and of the recruiting districts in mind, if we would realize the difficulty which confronts the tea planter before he can obtain his full supply of labour under the present circumstances of the industry.

The difficulty of getting the necessary supply of labour is however, not merely due to the above facts, it is also due to the fact that the industry has not grown in a natural way, but has been forced on by the expenditure of large sums of money, because tea gardens have paid capitalists so well in the past. It is in many respects a mushroom, or hot-house growth, and as such, it has called loudly for the intervention of Government to give it the necessary supply of labour, and Government has listened to, and obeyed its call.

From various circumstances there is very little local labour recruited for the gardens. In 1901 there were only 10,281 adult labourers from Assam out of a total adult labour force

of 404,150 men and women. One reason for this is undoubtedly the smallness of the pay offered to the labourer. If he wishes to work he can apparently command better pay outside, and only where this is not to be obtained will he apparently become a labourer on a tea garden. Doubtless also local people have the best chance of knowing whether the tea garden labourers have the ideal existence which it is said they have, and which has been described in such glowing terms in the *Times* by its Special Correspondent. If his description be a correct one there would be no Assam Tea Labour Question at all. It would be solved in every respect, both regarding the supply of local and of foreign labour, and the Labour Act would be so much waste paper. Let me give the description of the labourer as it appeared to the *Times'* Special Correspondent, and as it is vouched for in the *Times*, and with its great authority given forth to the world. Here is his testimony:—"The labourer has been withdrawn from the fierce battle of the millions, amid the storm and stress of varying seasons, into the constant shadow of prosperity and peace. Henceforth he has nothing to fear. He is protected from famine, from fraud, from violence, from usury, from all manner of external ill. For him and for his like alone, among the poor of India, the problem of life is solved."

Were the above description a correct one the labourers of a large province like Assam would, one may well think, even though indisposed to hard work, find on the tea gardens the very ideal sphere suited to them. This does not seem, however, to be the case, nor are the districts near to Assam apparently any more inclined to send recruits there than the Province itself is to supply them. Are we to infer from this that there are absolutely no poor, and no labourers in Assam or thereabouts; or that the above description is not, speaking generally, true to facts? The *Times* sent out its special correspondent last year, and he, in a series of articles published in the *Times*, ably represented some aspects of the Assam Labour Question; and so well did he handle the subject from the Agents, Planters, and Capitalists' point of view, that it was decided last October by the Indian Tea Association that his articles, and the correspondence between him and Sir Henry Cotton on the subject were so useful that they ought to be printed and issued in book form for the benefit of the members of the Association. We are informed that at the general meeting of the Indian Tea Association "It was generally agreed that the *Times'* correspondent had handled the question in a thorough manner, and that a reprint of the articles and letters in reply thereto from the late Chief Commissioner of Assam would be extremely useful for ready reference. It was accordingly decided to re-

print the correspondence for the use of members of the Association." Had the *Times'* Special^a Correspondent's comprehensive treatment of the question not been backed up as "through" by the Tea Association, and this moreover at its general meeting, his articles might have merely called forth the reply that the longer people live in India, and the more they have studied its various questions, so much the more assured do they become that comprehensive views are quite out of court. When, however, the *Times'* Special Correspondent has been backed up, as to his presentment of this question being a thorough one by such a large and influential body as the Tea Association, it shews plainly enough that however and wherever he got his information he expresses in an extremely useful way the views of the Planters, Agents, and Capitalists, many of whom have been in India all their working lives. Moreover, when such an Association determines to reprint his articles and the correspondence in the *Times* which followed upon them between himself and Sir Henry Cotton and "issue them in book form" because they would be "extremely useful for ready reference" for the "members of the Association," we have a further seal set to his presentment, not by neophytes, but by shrewd business men, who have given their lives to this industry, and who know exactly what expresses their mind in the matter. But in thus backing up the *Times'* presentment these shrewd business men will find that they have taken a good deal upon their own shoulders both regarding the character of the recruit, the recruiter, the contractor, the planter, the Government, and the bliss on the gardens. However, notwithstanding the great authority of their *imprimatur* it is really only of value so far as it goes. It only represents the Capitalist and business side of the question of Assam Labour and how to get it. I do not think it will—certainly it should not—influence a single person in a responsible position, who is anxious to obtain an unprejudiced view of the matter, except in the direction of helping to convince him that this very action of the Tea Association goes to prove that such a presentment needs balancing by something further—something which would express equally 'thoroughly' and 'usefully' the voice of the labourers, if they could voice themselves, or if they could get their view voiced by some one else. Naturally the *Times'* Special Correspondent was not, nor could be expected to be, in a position to do this.

The difficulty of dealing with aborigines in questions which have, or are supposed to have, two sides is due to the fact that they cannot voice themselves. This is the difficulty not merely in the Assam Labour Question, but in everything else, whether it has reference to their land and its assessment and laws; their education and its language, their jungles and boundaries, or

any other matter. In fact, apart from individual testimony on any matter, nothing can be gained from consulting them. I speak with some experience when I say that in any matter affecting them it is necessary to know them and their ways, to gain information from individuals, to form one's own conclusions, and then present those conclusions to them. A few of the more intelligent among them will then be able to express an opinion, but it is only in the actual experience of life that the many will really be able properly to express their approval, or disapproval of either a land law, or a labour law. That this is characteristic of them is seen over and over again in our Church panchayats, diocesan conferences, and other dealings with them. The more intelligent confess that it is only when a sore appears and pains that there is any cry about it, or search occasionally for a remedy, and here both the sore and the cry is an individual, and not a collective one. Under the circumstances of Assam Labour the cry in a foreign land is expressed by desertion. Under unjust land assessments the cry will be expressed by emigration, or migration. A labourer is recruited and told by his recruiter one or two truths and many lies. He goes to Assam and finds that he has been deceived, and if he suffer, and it be possible he will then desert from the garden. The reason may be insufficient pay, extra hard labour, harsh treatment, sickness, death of relatives, or excessive death-rate, epidemics, injustice, or one or more of these and of other causes. Being honest themselves in the main they are keenly alive to unjust or dishonest treatment. There are, however, so many reasons which make desertion either risky or impossible, that the recorded number of desertions is only a partial guide as to the amount of discontent on the gardens. Even so its numbers are terribly high. Certainly high enough to at once, and entirely disprove the view of the *Times*, its Special Correspondent, the members of the Indian Tea Association; and to prove that those expressions of approval which the *Times*' Special Correspondent says he has received from "distinguished official and non-official authorities on both branches of the subject discussed" can hardly have been given by men who have taken thought of the desertions, death-rate, drunkenness, and immorality on the gardens. Let us take some facts to disprove the description of the perfect bliss on the gardens:—

- (1) From 1894 to 1901, 141,063 men and women deserted, risking fines, or imprisonment, or both, with an added length of garden labour tacked on to the prison labour, wherever desertion was punished by imprisonment. The labourer is handed over to the planter at the jail door on

completing his time, and it is hardly likely that his lot will be a more happy one henceforth on the garden, even if he, or she, escape the beating which is often administered.

- (2) From 1894-1899 out of the above total 40,366 women deserted, risking the same unhappy lot.
- (3) Only after repeated fines, and of imprisonments amounting to six months in jail, can a labourer, man or woman, get a labour contract cancelled.
- (4) Redemption of contract, when of any value, is not possible for one in ten thousand labourers, owing to the enormous sum demanded by law.
- (5) In the above eight years 4,192 warrants were issued, 4,644 men and women were arrested, and 4,123 convicted.
- (6) In 1900 out of 323 convicted 294 were imprisoned. In 1901 out of 270 convicted 247 were imprisoned. Without referring to all those cases where runaways are brought back and not reported or to these cases—how numerous who can say?—where but for risk of beatings, harder work, fines, imprisonments, or from love of family, labourers do not desert.

The above facts are quite sufficient to prove that there must be an immense amount of discontent or misery on the tea gardens. Whoever may back up the *Times'* description, let him be official, or non-official, distinguished or otherwise, planter or agent, contractor or local agent, Tea Association or any other, he is backing up a statement which cannot be pronounced even remotely true to the facts.

In the face of the facts I have given, the *Times* tells the world, "The labourer has been withdrawn from the fierce battle of the millions, amid the storm and stress of varying seasons, into the constant shadow of prosperity and peace. Henceforth he has nothing to fear. He is protected from famine, from fraud, from violence, from usury, from all manner of external ills. For him and for his like alone, among the poor of India, the problem of life is solved."

God made the world for man to live and find a high perfection in, but the Capitalist and the would-be Capitalist say—No! the world and all things, on it and in it, and all persons on the face of it exist to make money by, and hence the storm and stress cease not. When Capital and Labour become brethren, then, and not till then, will the storm and stress cease.

A. LOGSDAIL,
S. P. S. Missionary,
Chaibasa, Chota Nagpur.

ART. VIII.—THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

Report of the Administration of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands and the Penal Settlement of Port Blair for 1901-1902. Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing.

INDIA, whatever outsiders may think, is essentially the place of hard work—at least such has been my experience concerning *Clerical* work. I believe it to be a fact, and I say it whether it is considered egotistical, or not, that most of the Clergy in India do the work of two, perhaps three clergy at home. Four services single-handed, on a Sunday with three Sermons, and the Thermometer at 95°

Clerical work in India. in the shade, is not a bad day's work—not to speak of the various office and Secretariat work which falls to the lot of most of the Clergy in this city of palaces.

This, however, is but a preamble to lead up to the fact of three months' privilege leave which fell to my lot after nearly two years' continuous work in India—and that without a single Sunday off duty. Three months' privilege leave—and the hottest part of the year coming on—where should we spend it?

Choice of an Indian Holiday. Here in India there is not much choice to be had; many things have to be considered which find no place in the rest-seeker's thoughts at home. The scorching heat and troublesome mosquitoes make us look out for colder climes, while the long distances make the whole question a financial one difficult to solve. Then again in this special case there were special difficulties; alone, distance and finance would not have created such obstacles as they did now; others had to be thought of and needed a change—perhaps even more than the 'Padre sahib;' and so it was a matter of grave consideration to what length we should go, both in miles and in rupees. Darjeeling with its eternal snows, and wooded walks—its bracing climate and cheerful companionship,—had left pleasant memories in all our minds; but Darjeeling is not a place where one can live, as orchids do, on air. Where should we go for our holidays? If a hard problem to solve in dear old England—a much harder one in this Eastern Land.

At last a happy solution was found in a standing invitation of an officer in the Andamans to visit his island home. In a very short time our minds were made up, and we resolved to seek our rest on those Islands in the Bay of Bengal, which, not a hundred years ago, were almost an unknown land, and to many still are *terra incognita*. Besides, such a trip had the

name of being fashionable—who does not like to be in the fashion?—for is not to go ‘the round’ (*i.e.*, the trip to the Andaman, on to Rangoon, and then back again,) the same, in Calcutta parlance, as to do the Highlands, or the Channel Islands is in the home vocabulary?

But there were difficulties in the way; the Andaman Islands are the abode of all those native ladies and gentlemen who for some mistake or other are kept for years at Government expense; in other words these islands are a convict settlement; this fact had a curious effect upon our servants. English nurse, ayah and bearer all refused to go—the *Kala Pani*, and above all “the thieves,” (Madrassi English) were obstacles which could not easily be overcome by our native servants. The offer of higher wages was unavailing, and it was only the day before, and when we were almost in despair, that we succeeded in persuading an ayah to go with us, John, our Madrassi butler was faithful and true, an English education had something to do with it, and thus it happened that our party was at last complete.

The good steamship which was to convey us to the Islands of Good Fortune (*Ἀγαθὸν δαίμονος*)—so Ptolemy calls them lay at anchor in our own Parish, and is justly claimed by us as a Parishioner. As the mail boat generally leaves at day-break, in our ignorance we embarked the evening before, caution all in vain as the good ship did not leave her moorings until nearly eight o’clock the following morning, and all the return we had for our anxiety, was a very miserable night, in a hot cabin, pestered by attendant and most attentive mosquitoes.

The morning light, however, brought a change, and as soon as we had taken on board some one hundred and eighty convicts, we steamed slowly down the Sacred River. It was a curious sight, and filled us with curious feelings, the arrival of our fellow passengers the convicts. The ominous rattle of their chains—they all wore both leg and arm chains—as they descended one by one to the hold was not a pleasant sound to hear.* All fears, however, were quieted by the presence on board of a strong guard of Sikh police fully armed. Twice daily, during the voyage, the prisoners came up on the lower deck to breathe the balmy breeze and to perform their ablutions, an almost religious duty, in spite of present adverse circumstances both in position and surroundings: during that time of relaxation the police with fixed bayonets, mounted guard on the poop deck, much to the amusement of a *Buba* passenger, who also mounted guard with his miniature gun and bayonet, a pigmy beside the stalwart Punjabi.

Nothing of much moment occurred on our short voyage of

four days, if we except two facts which are worth mentioning; the geniality and kindness of the Commander, and the absurd pleas urged by various passengers, when asked to attend the Service held in the saloon on Sunday morning. One gets accustomed to any excuse given to avoid attending a religious Service at sea. I am inclined to think that the meagre attendance so often seen on these occasions, arises from laziness, rather than from wilful opposition to religion.

The Andaman Islands were sighted early on Monday morning, but very indistinctly, it was not until two o'clock in the afternoon that they could be made out with any definiteness; one hour later we cast anchor in the magnificent harbour of Port Blair—in the Island of Ross—the head-quarters of the settlement. The arrival of the Mail boat is always a great event, especially as the bringer of news from the outside world, and letters from 'Home.' No sooner had we cast anchor on this hot March afternoon, than we were boarded by most of the official inhabitants of the island. It is evidently a custom at Port Blair, for all who can, to go on board, both on arrival and departure, and to drink *bon voyage*,—(shall it be said?) in a "whiskey peg" in the Captain's cabin.

A learned Judge who did 'the round' a short time ago has put into vigorous verse the story of his trip; he expresses in the following lines our experience at this point.

'Soon as the anchor thunders to its bed,
'A swift boat glances from the jetty head;
'Twelve sturdy rowers of Punjabi race
'Bend to the oar and urge the speed apace.
'No prisoners they; since May, good and great,
'Fell less by convict than fanatic hate,
'These towering Sikhs, broad chested, iron hard
'Ply the Chief's oars, and form his body guard.'

It was the Chief Commissioner's boat, with kind thought sent to bring us ashore, and in it our brother and sister to welcome us to their sea-girt and hospitable home. In a few minutes we were on the jetty steps, and in a few minutes more, by the aid of friendly *Jampans* were safely housed in a pretty Bungalow in white and black, built on piles, after the Burmese fashion, as indeed all Andamanese houses are.

Now that we have reached our destination, it may be well for us to look around, and describe more in detail this great Penal Settlement of India.

The Andaman Islands, then, are situated in the Bay of Bengal some eight hundred miles from Calcutta. The Group is made up of the Great and Little Andaman; the former consisting of three large islands known as North, Middle and South Andaman. To the south are the Nicobar Islands,

and midway between them and Great Andaman, the Little Andaman. It is on the South Andaman that the harbour Port Blair is situated, containing the small islands of Ross, Chatham and Viper. On the first of these, lives the Chief Commissioner, and all the principal officials together with the European and native troops. The European barracks on Ross are very picturesque, and from the sea, when steaming up the harbour, were likened, by some of the passengers to Windsor Castle. The Church also is on Ross, and is a very neat and

The Church in the Andamans. well appointed building. Although omitted in the poem just quoted, as one of the attractions of Port Blair, it is nevertheless an attraction to those who remember that there is a God, and that all nature acknowledges Him, if man sometimes does not. At any rate it was a pleasure to us, to see rising above the palm trees and foliage the sacred sign, the Holy Cross which told of Christ acknowledged and Christ worshipped.

While on this point, we may state that the interior of the Church is just as pleasing as its exterior. A helpful Lent and happy Easter made the religious remembrances of Port Blair bright ones. On Easter Day, Andamanese orchids in all their varied and tropical beauty, adorned the little Church, and the Services were most bright and hearty, thanks to the willing soldier-Choir. The gathering at the Altar told how the Christian Faith is suited to all nations and races. Even the aborigines were not left out, for one Andamanese girl made her Easter Communion among her Saxon and Aryan fellow worshippers. There is another Church belonging to the Church of England in Port Blair,—this is intended for the Indian Christians. People are now beginning to understand that the Indian Church is one, and that the spirit of caste, which reserves one building for Westerns, and another for Easterns, must be exorcised. In this particular case, however, an exception should be made, as most of those who attend this little Church are convicts, and as such, are under punishment for their crimes. We also visited the little Roman Catholic Church, but found it very tawdry in its arrangements. Candles planted in glass bottles, and old jam tins, are not suitable ornaments for a Christian altar. It may be that it is the best the poor can give, and so is accepted by God. Another comforting thought is that in the eyes of the unlearned such things do not appear common, or out of place. I was glad to find the Church open for private prayer, and more glad still to find an English soldier saying his prayers therein.

Viper, a barren and dreary island, five miles from Ross, may be mentioned because it contains the only Jail in the Settlement.

'We saw the little Jail on Viper's shore
 'In those who, once admonished, erred once more;
 'It seemed to need the few who were not free
 'To emphasize the general liberty.'

Some weeks after our arrival we paid a visit to Viper, comfortably seated in the stern of the Padre's boat. Every Wednesday morning a steam tug leaves Ross at 7 A.M. for Viper, taking in tow any officers' boats bound for that island. We were much interested in the weaving, and in the production of a most artistic and neat kind of basket.

Nature has been very lavish in her favours on the Andamans. At the first approach one cannot help being struck with the luxuriant foliage, even to the water's edge. The magnificent forests in the centre of the larger islands, form a good background to the brighter green, chiefly palms and cocoanuts which border the blue waters. The water is famous for its extreme clearness, and the sight, as one gazes over the boat's edge, into the depths of the submarine world, reveal sights strange to Western eyes, a veritable fairy land. Corals with their many delicate tints of blue, pink, and buff; sponges in varied and grotesque shapes; and strangely shaped fish with bands of gold and blue, make up a picture seldom seen out of the fertile imagination of Jules Verne. Very vivid is the following description :—

'O favoured isles of Heaven! O lovely scene!
 'Whose wooded heights slope down to seas as green,
 'Save where the wave, dashed on some reef below,
 'Lights the long base with clouds of wreathed snow
 'Here, Mercy tempering Justice, for a time
 'Britannia gathers India's sons of crime.
 'Not theirs to pine in dungeons or in chains
 'Chilled in the cold, or mouldering in the rains;
 'Here must they toil, but free, or all but free
 'Their only pri-on-wall the girdling sea!
 'Toil, but in hope; for wisdom bids them learn
 'The sweets of honest effort, and to earn
 'The stipend of their labour, until time
 'Fill the full tale of years that expiate their crime,
 'Aye, all may hope! for even he whose knife
 'Has dealt a death blow to another's life,
 'He whose own life were forfeit, knows that he
 'When twenty years have rolled, shall yet be free;
 'Seek the dear village where, a boy he played,
 'The little temple and the banyan-shade,
 'Rejoin his children grown to man's estate
 'And early friends still mourning for his fate;
 'Pluck the rich harvest of the mangoe groves
 'And breathe his last among the scene he loves.'

A very good bird's eye view of the islands may be had from the top of Mount Harriet, the Sanatorium of Port Blair, 1,200 feet above the sea level.

Mount Harriet.

The Chief Commissioner kindly placed his bungalow, on the summit of Mount Harriet at our disposal, and we spent a very cool and quiet month there, while our less fortunate friends on Ross were melting in the heat below.

I shall never forget an ascent when we first came into residence. We landed at Hope Town, on the very spot where Lord Mayo, the Viceroy, was assassinated by an Afredi convict sixteen years before. The distance from Hope Town to Mount Harriet is about two and a half miles up a very steep winding road, through magnificent forest and jungle—a deep ravine on either side. Birds of various sizes, and brilliant plumage, peacocks, and parrots crossed our path as we toiled up the steep ascent. Our procession looked quite patriarchal as it ascended the winding pathway. There were three *Jampans* with their eight bearers each, filled by the ladies and children; at various intervals in the rear came our numerous servants with the household goods, followed by the two Sahibs; the whole procession brought up by the two Ayahs, and quite in the rear by “Ruth,” an Andamanese girl, one of the very few who have been successfully civilized. More of Ruth later on, sufficient to say now that our visible faculties were brought into play, as we looked back, and saw the little fat Andamanese girl with her dark face and dumpy figure, clothed in unnatural English garments, crowned with a curiously shaped straw hat and feathers, and with our puppy “Viper” in her arms, panting and puffing in the ascent of her native hills.

But it is time that we say something about those for whose benefit the Andaman Islands are garrisoned and kept up.

The Convicts.

There is no doubt that the comparative freedom which the convicts enjoy at Port Blair, reconciles a great many to their expatriation. I have heard the story of a Hindoo prisoner, who, on being sentenced to six years' imprisonment, implored the judge to make it one year more, so that he might be sent to the Andamans—no shorter sentence being deemed sufficient to turn an ordinary prisoner, into an Andamanese one. Indeed, so light is the confinement of prisoners in the Settlement, that it is only for the first two or three months after their arrival and before their character is known, that they retain their irons; at the end of that time, their irons are knocked off, and they are sent to work in gangs. After ten years the convicts, provided they bear good characters, are released and allowed to cultivate their own land, rented from the Government—such are called Self-supporters: they are also allowed to marry after the same lapse of time if they can find any one to marry them.

And now for a few statistics: there are 12,177 convicts in

Convict Statistics. the whole Settlement, and of these 743 are women. To keep this large number of outcast India in order there are 148 English troops, 316 Native Infantry and 627 Sikh and Punjabi police—a proportion of 11 convicts to one. Of the convicts 10,198 are life convicts ; 2,579 term convicts ; 3,260 are Mahomedans ; 7,354 Hindoos ; 2,022 Buddhists ; 97 professing other religions, and 44 Christians. Of the Christians it may be interesting to know that 41 are natives, and three are Eurasians. The total number of Self-supporters—those who in various ways are able to keep themselves—amount to 2,116, and of these 340 are women. The average cost of each prisoner during the past year (1901-02) was Rs. 87-14-6. Of the 11,974 prisoners at present undergoing transportation, 8,010 were for murder, and 2,558 for dacoity, the next highest numbers are those under the headings of theft, house-breaking, and causing grievous hurt. Fifty-one prisoners (including two women) have been guilty of “abduction of females and house-breaking,” eight of “waging war against the constituted authority of Native States,” and seventeen of “using counterfeit coin.” No less than 712 of the 743 women prisoners have been guilty of murder,—a most tremendous proportion. In consequence of the small number of free men in the Settlement the convicts are employed on all kinds of service. Most of the crimes for which the prisoners are transported are those of murder, and therefore one experiences strange sensations at the thought of a crew of murderers rowing one’s boat, a murderer cooking one’s dinner, a murderer washing one’s clothes, and a murderer waiting on one at table. Familiarity, however, accustoms one to almost everything, so that the strange sensation soon wears off, and one no longer feels that creepy sort of feeling which is natural at first ; indeed one or two of our boat’s crew grew to be very fond of the children, and were as far from one’s idea of the typical murderer as can well be imagined. I believe the advice given is, to choose a murderer for a servant, in preference to a man who has been convicted of crimes, such as habitual theft, and forgery which imply a special training, the reason being that most murderers belong to the agricultural class and generally commit their crime in a moment of passionate dispute about some piece of land. There is a vast difference between the hardened and trained criminal, and the one who commits his crime in a moment of passion, without any premeditation. We certainly found this to be the case in the instance of the *manji* of our boat, a man who had served eighteen years or more for an offence such as I have specified and who certainly was a most bright, willing, and kind-hearted man,

It might be mentioned here, while speaking of the Self-supporters, that there are Tapioca, and Tea gardens, Coffee, Cacao and Ceara-rubber plantations on the island; there are also (roughly speaking) about 116,000 cocoanut trees in the Settlement, these are not natural to the islands, but have all been planted since they became the Penal Settlement of India. These cocoanut palms grow on the water's edge and make a most effective, and tropical fringe to most of the islands. The manufactures, carried on for the most part in Viper Jail and South Point (the Women's Section)—include cotton clothing, blankets and blanket coats, rattan chairs and tables, salt, (by solar evaporation), bricks and lime.

It has been said that most of the convicts are all but free—this is perfectly true—there is, however, a “but” in the way, and that represents the Sikhs and the sea. The records of attempted escapes from the islands are very few indeed, and owing to those two most formidable barriers, final escape is almost impossible. If a convict does reach the mainland, that is, one of the larger islands, he is almost certain to fall by the bows and arrows of the Andamanese. The “Junglees” have a great hatred of the convicts, and are glad to have a chance of shooting one. There is a report that a price is set upon the heads of runaway convicts, at any rate I was told that a great commotion was caused at one of the annual Athletic Sports, by the arrival of a number of Andamanese with the heads of escaped convicts in their hands, savage trophies of a successful raid.

During the year 38 convicts escaped, of whom 22 were recaptured within the year and 12 after its close, leaving four still at large. The total escapes are 17·3 per cent. below those of the previous year. Fifty per cent. of the runaways were prisoners from the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the next largest number being convicts from the Punjab.

There were five organized attempts to escape during the year, *viz.* :—

- (1) On the 12th December 1901, four convicts, all Hindustanis, escaped from Aberdeen at 7-30 P.M. Two of them were recaptured on the 29th idem, and the remaining two on the 4th February 1902.
- (2) On the 3rd February 1902, five convicts, four Burmans and one Hindustani, made good their escape from Bamboo Flat. One returned and gave himself up a few days afterwards, and three of the remaining four were recaptured on the 10th April 1902, after the close of the year under report.

Before their recapture they made two attacks on Self-supporters' camps in the jungles, and plundered all they could secure in the form of provisions. The Hindustani man is still at large.

- (3) On the 28th January 1902, three men of the United Provinces escaped from Haddo and are still at large. All attempts to secure them have proved fruitless up to the present.
- (4) On the 30th January 1902, three convicts from the United Provinces escaped from Shore Point, all of whom were recaptured on the 13th February 1902.
- (5) On the 21st March 1902, three men, one Punjabi, one Sindi, and one Balochi, effected their escape from Goplakabang and are still at large. All endeavours to capture them, up to the present, have failed.

We now turn from the hunting of escaped convicts to a

The Women's Section.

much more peaceful subject—the convict women of the Andaman Islands.

The Women's Section, as it is called, is one of the most interesting portions of this Penal Settlement. Just opposite Ross Island, at Aberdeen on what is called the mainland the convict women are housed—here they remain for the first five years of their convict life—at the expiration of that time they are eligible for marriage; if unsuccessful in finding a suitor, they spend the rest of their imprisonment in the same place. It was one evening in the rains that we first visited the Women's Quarters; we were rowed across the narrow strait which divides Ross from Aberdeen by ten convicts. The Senior Medical Officer kindly had undertaken the post of *cicerone*, and so we had the attendance of a Sikh as guard. All the Settlement officers go about with a Sikh in attendance, and since the assassination of Lord Mayo, the Chief Commissioner has a Sikh boat crew. The Women's Section is shut in on one side by the sea, and on the other by high palings. The gates, too, are most strictly guarded by female Jemadars. Unless accompanied by some one in authority there is no chance of entrance, at least for a male visitor. Some years ago two subalterns were anxious to inspect the place, and so appeared at the various gates seeking admittance. The Jemadars were profuse in their salaams, but absolutely refused to allow the youthful warriors to place one foot within the prohibited ground.

After passing the entrance gates we made our way uphill to the shed in which the women were seated on the floor winding thread on very primitive wooden wheels, while in the same

room others were walking up and down long lines of thread doing something which no doubt was very simple, but which I could not understand and which seemed very mysterious. In another room we found women sitting at old-fashioned wooden hand looms weaving the thread into the coarse material which forms their clothing. A board hung at the head of every worker, and from it we learned that each convict had to do six yards of stuff as a day's work. This is now all being altered, for during the past year the first step in a plan for improving the weaving in the female Jail was taken, by the introduction of a pedal loom of the sort known as the "Domestic Loom" to replace the hand looms at present in use. This will economise much labour, and improve the material turned out greatly. The experimental loom after a little adaptation to local requirements has been completely successful, and more such looms will be introduced in consequence, during the present year. The convict women took to the new plan readily and it was found that they could work it easily, while the quality of the material is much higher than that hitherto made. It is hoped in a short time that all the old hand looms will be superseded as one woman at the new loom does the work of four at the old ones. In addition to this loom a new Piru winder, bobbin winder and warp beaming machine were introduced to improve the quality of the thread used in the clothing factory. They were all successful and will economise labour.

In every room there are one or two Jemadars (or overseers) of course women, they wear a red *saree* as a mark of authority and receive for payment their food and clothes, with two rupees per month. We were all very much struck with the youthful appearance of most of the prisoners, and on questioning one or two as to their antecedents—one good looking girl had murdered her husband—found that nearly all were murderers—or murderesses. I said just now that the convict women spend the first five years of

their convict life in this abode, at the end of that time they are eligible for marriage. It may naturally be asked, who would marry a murderer and how are the preliminaries arranged? The answer is, that in the Andamans there is not much choice; a murderer must fain marry a murderess, and the courtship of such is very brief, and to the point. All convict men after ten years' imprisonment are allowed, if they like to become Self-supporters, *i.e.*, they are permitted by Government to rent and farm so many acres of land, on the produce of which they support themselves—if a convict prefers it, he is given a piece of jungle land uncleared, which he clears for himself.

Convict Marriages.

A man doing this is allowed provisions, I believe, for six months, during the time he is clearing his land. The advantage of this latter way is, that the little money he has laid by, will come in very usefully as capital, to be spent on his newly-acquired acres.

When a man thus situated is passed by the authorities as able to support a wife, he is allowed to marry. The *modus operandi* is as follows; a gentleman convict is allowed to visit a lady convict at the Women's Section; perhaps the ladies are all put in a row for his inspection, he selects one whom he thinks will suit him, and is then allowed to take her aside, and in due course after one or two visits, according to the state of the lady's heart, to ask the all important question which is necessary on such occasions. During the past year, 56 applications for marriage were received; of these, 4 free and 24 convicts were sanctioned and the balance 28 were refused, for the following reasons:—Indian husband declining to divorce, 14; bad local conduct of the applicants, 3; difference in caste, 3; other reasons, 8.

Those who insist on the transmission of hereditary virtues and vices, would have plenty of scope for observations here, in the children resulting from such marriages. I am inclined, however, to think that the children of such parents would not be children wicked above other children. As I have already said, most of the murderers in the Settlement committed their crimes in a fit of passion, it may be in a quarrel over a piece of land, and I do not think that such a culprit, when he comes to himself, is half as dangerous and unpleasant as the man who has been guilty of a continuous course of crime and cunning.

There were a fair number of children in the Women's Section, and their presence is accounted for by fact that all women sent to the Settlement take their very young children with them, and also that the wives of Self-supporters often find themselves back again in the Women's Section with their children, on account either of their own, or their husband's misbehaviour. The children we saw were very bright and intelligent, one or two were paraded for an inspection in their acquirements. It was very amusing to hear these little half-naked urchins exhibiting their knowledge of Arithmetic, shouting out, *ek, do, tin*, and when the by-standers cried *jaldi jaldi*, getting positively frantic in their efforts to beat one another. One handsome light coloured boy was very persistent in his attentions, and when we asked if he would go with us, he was most ready to do so, his mother freely giving her consent. The little fellow gladly salaamed to his mother and trotted after us to the landing stage, where he very reluctantly bade us farewell.

And now we bid farewell to the convicts and their life and turn to a more interesting and novel subject—the aboriginal inhabitants of the Andaman Islands. I do not hesitate to say that they are a most interesting people to study, both because of their ignorance of the outside world,—we may say that they are in the stone age,—and because of their bright and happy disposition. Before their comparatively recent acquaintance with us, they had not the faintest knowledge of the existence of even the neighbouring coast of Burmah, much less of the world at large, and consequently imagined that their islands formed almost the entire earth area, and that they themselves comprised the bulk of the inhabitants. The few voyagers, who from time to time ventured near their shores were regarded as deceased ancestors, who, by some dispensation, had been permitted to re-visit the earth, and who were supposed to live on some small island in the vicinity of their (*zrema*) world. In confirmation of this may be cited the name by which the natives of India are to this day called, *viz.*, (*chdn gala*) departed spirits.

The origin of the Andamanese race has until very lately been involved in obscurity; the knowledge we now possess has enabled us to speak with some certainty on the matter, at least, so says Mr. E. H. Man who was the Assistant Superintendent of the Islands, and whose book on the *Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands* is a standard work on the subject.* He says that the following facts have been arrived at:—

- (1.) That they are Negritos.
- (2.) That they are the original inhabitants, whose occupancy dates from prehistoric times.
- (3.) That all the tribes, as at present known to us, undoubtedly belong to the same race, and are of unmixed origin.
- (4.) That in spite of all our endeavours to protect them, contact with civilization has been marked with the usual lamentable result of reducing the original population.

When I say that the Andamanese are black, I wrong the word, they are as black as night; one authority describes them “as extremely black, more so than the African negro, and “some have a dull leaden hue like that of a black-leaded stove”—indeed, this last is a most apt description. In stature they are very small, the greatest height of a man, quite a giant, being

* The manners and customs of the Andamanese, as described in this paper, are all derived from Mr. Man's most exhaustive and interesting book,—to him our thanks are due. My own few observations on the subject would, however, lead me to suppose that the manners and customs therein described refer rather to an ideal past, than to the prosaic present.

5 ft. 4½—the lowest height 4 ft. 5¼—the women are shorter than the men. They have very good figures, well made, the men having a peculiar bend in the back. Their hair is curly, of the usual negro type. It may interest some to hear that the ladies shave their heads, a proceeding which does not improve their personal appearance. As among more civilized peoples, so among the Andamanese, fashions in hair dressing come and go. I said the women shaved their heads, the men do not; the style most affected by the men is a circular patch of hair about 6 or 8 in. in diameter, like a skull cap on the top of the head, others reverse the proceeding and appear with a clerical tonsure.

The first visit I paid to the aborigines, was one Wednesday morning in company with my brother. The Andamanese Home. We were towed about four miles up the harbour by the steam tug, and then cast off, to make our own way to the opposite shore. It should be understood that we did not visit the Andamanese in the jungles, but at the Government Home at Haddo. The Government provide one or two Homes in which the Andamanese can live at Government expense, and where food and tobacco are supplied *ad libitum*,—a sure and certain way to destroy the independence of any race. I am glad to say the great majority of the Islanders prefer to live in their native jungles, and to depend upon their own exertions to get their daily food. The Home we visited contained fifty inmates, and when I speak of a "Home," it must be remembered, it consists of three or four sheds, in which the aborigines cook, sleep and dance. As we landed at the small pier, we found that most of the "junglees" were departing in their tree canoes for the day's fishing or hunting. I believe a "jungle" means an inhabitant of the jungle, and I was surprised to find that the Andamanese do not look upon it as a nickname, but speak of themselves as "junglees." The learned judge whose poem has already been quoted, says of the Andamanese:—

"We saw some natives, half reclaimed and rude,
"Adorned with shells but desperately nude."

This is true, for the Islanders wear absolutely no clothing at all—and that without any sense of shame. Belts, wristlets, garters, necklaces of bones and shells do duty for the clothing of civilized nations. I had almost forgotten one sign of civilization present. Each naked, and in most cases, painted savage, both men and women, had a short clay pipe in their mouths, which he or she puffed vigorously, making a most ludicrous and absurd picture.

On our way to the Home from the pier, we met one or two ladies;—I should say the woman *do* wear a small apron of

leaves, called an *Ō-bungada*,—and, with an article of attire, which showed at once that fashion is not confined to London or Calcutta. It was a species of girdle called a *Bō-dda*, with an appendage behind (I quote Mr. Man) like a bustle. All I can say is, the way it swayed to and fro as the women walked presented a most laughable back view. We brought some of these articles of primitive dress away with us to testify to the universality of fashion in dress, all the world over.

As we arrived at the Home we met a very intelligent looking Andamanese, who saluted us with a “good morning,” indeed, most of the inhabitants of the Home seem to know this salutation. We found out that our friend had been one of a party of four men and two women, who were sent to Calcutta in 1883, for the purpose of being modelled for the International Exhibition. They were quartered for a few weeks in the Zoological Gardens, where they attracted crowds of sight-seeing Baboos. He was a very pleasing and good natured specimen, and readily entered into the spirit of a joke. I was anxious to possess specimens of the bows and arrows used by the Andamanese, and so we despatched him to one of the wooden houses for a bow and arrow; he was not long in returning and brought with him a Jemadar, who presented us with a printed notice as to the price of the articles we wished to buy (to my mind exorbitantly high). It was rather a shock to our feelings, in such an out-of-the-way place as the Andaman Islands, and surrounded by naked and painted savages, to be presented with an orthodox price list. This, and one or two other things, brought before us the fact that these aborigines were being *civilized*. For three Rupees we secured a bow and arrow, having, first of all, persuaded our Andamanese friend to try it; this he did, aiming at a tree twenty yards distant—he missed it—evidently the Andamanese are not good shots.

Andamanese Weapons.

We found out afterwards that they have no chance of becoming so at long distances, the only game is the wild pig, and the jungle is so dense, that close quarters must be the order of the day. We had no means, at that time, of getting specimens of the necklaces of human bones and skulls belonging to deceased ancestors, which the Andamanese delight to wear “in memoriam.”

The bows used in the North and Little Andaman are quite distinct from those used in the South and Middle Andaman. The latter *Kā-rama* is a bow of a flattened S-shaped form, for hunting in the interior; the usual length of these bows, for the sake of convenience, is about four feet. Somewhat larger bows are used in the open jungle, along the coast, or when shooting fish; the bow string is made of bark fibre.

Of arrows there are three or four kinds ; there is the common blunt wood-headed" arrow, used for practising, and the fish-arrow, which is pointed with iron. The most curious, however, is the *ɛ-la* or pig-arrow, some three and a half feet in length. It is of two parts, joined to each other by a thong of fibre ; the top part consisting of a triangular piece of iron with barbs, fastened to the end of a small stick, about four inches long. This fits into' a socket provided for it in the lower half of the arrow, the fibre thong being twisted round the shaft to keep both parts in position. In using the arrow, when a pig is stuck, the top part slips out of the socket directly any struggle, on the part of the unfortunate animal, is made ; the lower half of the arrow soon becoming entangled in the brushwood, the poor victim of Andamanese skill is soon at the mercy of its captors.

The human bone necklaces (a specimen of which was a parting gift from the lay Missionary) are worn as charms during illness, by friends or relatives of the deceased ; and may often be seen tied tightly round the part in pain ; they are also worn when in health to ward off disease, through the intervention of the disembodied spirit, who is supposed to be gratified by, and aware of, the respect thus paid to his memory.

After leaving our intelligent friend we entered one of the wooden houses and found in one corner two women elaborately painting with *og*, common white clay, two of the sterner sex, who were lying at their ease, with their heads on the women's knees. The women, as we have said, always shave their heads, and with the most elaborate designs in white traced on their dark bodies, looked positively hideous. White is a sign of mourning. The Andamanese when he is washed (and as a writer on the subject says, the more he washes, the blacker he becomes) is not a bad object to look at ; although small in stature, he is well made and proportioned. On our entrance we were saluted with cries of *pice, pice*, and when we told the *fair* occupant that we had given *pice* to the intelligent "jungle" outside, she promptly told us we were not speaking the truth.

I must confess that the general feeling on quitting the Home was one of pity and sadness—pity and sadness that nothing was being done to raise these poor natives into a higher state, religiously. Efforts have been made, but with little success, not that the Andamanese themselves are unimpressionable, but that the obstacles in the way are peculiar and persistent.

Before I proceed to describe some of the habits and customs of the Andamanese I should like to say something about the inhabitants of Little Andaman.

The inhabitants of this Island positively refuse to have anything to do with the outside world, and prevent any landing on their soil, by showers of arrows. Many attempts have been made to make them less hostile, but to no purpose. I recount here a visit made to the Island in the cause of peace, by the then Chief Commissioner. It certainly reads like a page out of the adventures of Captain Cook.

The Little Andaman.

"Nothing can be more unsatisfactory than our relations with the inhabitants of this island, and they have never been otherwise. Situated not far off the course taken by ships trading with Burma, certain death would await the crew of any ship wrecked on the coast, or any boat's crew who in ignorance of danger, landed there.

In 1867 a boat's crew from the ship "Assam Valley" were murdered on the south coast. A small expedition was sent to punish the savages, and it resulted in a Lieutenant being drowned, and two men on our side being wounded; several of the islanders were reported to have been killed and wounded, but this is doubtful.

In 1873, five out of seven of the boat's crew of a Burmese craft, who landed on the east coast for water, were murdered. General (the late Sir Donald) Stewart at once sent down a punitive expedition under Captain Wimberley. That officer burnt six of their large huts, and several of the islanders who attacked him were killed, while on our side two men were wounded. Shortly before this, General Stewart had visited the west coast of the island, with the view of showing that our intentions towards the people were friendly. After landing presents at several places, one of his parties were attacked, and in the skirmish which ensued, one of the aborigines was wounded. He died while being taken off to the ship.

In 1880 I visited the island several times and all my friendly overtures were rejected. One evening they placed an ambuscade at the mouth of a creek up which I had rowed, and on our return they saluted us with showers of arrows.

On another occasion, not far from the same spot, while we were throwing cocoanuts ashore to the natives on the beach, one of my boat's crew was severely wounded with an arrow. On another occasion at Hut Bay on the east coast, they nearly cut off a boat's crew which had landed with Mr. Portman. Many arrows were fired by the savages, and on our side only two shots were fired from a fowling-piece, for the purpose of frightening them.

In 1882 and again in 1883 the island was visited by the station steamer, and the islanders accepted the presents which were left for them on the beach.

In April 1884 I visited several places in the island and rowed up two of the creeks without coming to hostilities with the natives. Presents were left in many places. The natives had no hesitation in taking them on our boat withdrawing fifty yards or so, but their bows and arrows were always handy. At one time I proceeded on shore in one of the ship's cutters, followed by the Jolly boat. After depositing yarns, cocoanuts, and red cloth in a canoe which we found near the entrance, we rowed about three miles up the creek, and then landing, visited a large hut about a quarter of a mile from the boats. We encountered no natives there, but on rowing down the creek, we found the sandspits on either side of the mouth covered with painted savages, armed with bows and arrows. The tide was out and a passage of only thirty or forty yards was left for the boats to pass through. It would have been easy to clear the spits with a

few rifle shots, but wishing to avoid bloodshed, I resolved to wait in the broad part of the creek where we had stopped rowing, until the tide rose. Apparently mistaking our actions for surrender, four natives put off in one canoe, and two in another, and coming along side our boats they disdainfully refused the presents we offered, and by very peremptory gestures and shouts ordered us ashore. The canoe with the four men, was made fast to the Jolly boat, and they commenced cutting away the lanyards and fenders, and by gestures ordered the rifles and the compass box to be given up. On being shoved off, one of the savages took up his bows, and in the twinkling of an eye, sent an arrow through the helmet of Mr. Jackson, Apothecary, inflicting a slight scalp-wound. On this, our men began to fire, and all the savages fell into the water. I stopped the firing as quickly as possible. One of the savages taking the cane painter of his canoe in his mouth tried to swim ashore with it. Two of the Port Blair Andamanese, by my order, jumped into the water and captured him, a fine young man, and unwounded. I was glad to see the remaining five savages emerge from the water into the mangrove jungle, all apparently unwounded except one, who had been hit in the calf by an arrow. The tide rose, the spits became covered with water, the natives retired, and we rowed out to the ship without further molestation, having broken up the two canoes which had attacked us, as a mark of our displeasure. The captive, to our great regret, died at Port Blair of pneumonia in the following month."

There is one thing about these islanders of the little Andaman, that as a result of their isolation and refusal to allow strangers to land on their island, as far as is known, there is no disease among them, and they are not rapidly dying out, as their brethren of the Great and Middle Andaman are doing. Such being the case, I say, long may they be free and simple in their ignorance of those vices which have always proved destructive to aboriginal races.

In the description already given, some idea, doubtless, has been conveyed to the mind of my readers, of the Andamans and the Andamanese. I proceed now to speak more in detail of a few of the habits and customs of these most interesting little people.

First of all, they are not cannibals, and as far as we can learn, never have been,—there is a belief abroad that they are, but this is a mistake, and should be definitely contradicted.

Another incorrect statement is, that the Andamanese live in holes dug in the sand, that they build no kind of huts. This is also untrue, and both these statements are urged, as proofs, that the Andamanese are not much above the lower animals. When we come to enquire into the matter, we find that there are three kinds of huts, met with in the permanent and temporary encampments, throughout the territory of the eight great Andaman Tribes.

The first, the most lasting, and erected by the men, is found in the majority of the permanent encampments. The second kind are put up when temporary homes are required. They

last only for a few months, such as during the period of mourning. They are made by the men, and differ from the former in being smaller and less neatly thatched. The third variety are only meant to serve as a shelter during a halt or short stay. They are built in a much more simple way than either of the former, and are the work of the women. The majority of these huts are of a shanty character, the only respect in which they differ, being in size and durability. They are found standing alone or, as is more especially the case in more permanent encampments, so joined together as to form quite a large habitation, in the eyes of the Andamanese, a roomy and stately dwelling place.

A very interesting chapter might be written on the customs and habits of the Andamanese. Here is the full ritual observed at a Death and Burial. It is true I have not been present at such a ceremony, but

Habits and customs of
the Andamanese.
Burial Rites.

Mr. Man the historian of the Andamanese has, and it is from his work on the subject that I have obtained my facts on this and on other points in my paper, which a short residence in the island, such a mine was could never have personally brought home to me. I think we shall say, when our description is ended, that these people sadly need a Funeral Reform Association in their midst.

When a child dies, the parents and friends weep beside the body for hours; they afterwards attire themselves in mourning garments by smearing their bodies with a compound of *ōg*, olive coloured clay and water, and by shaving their heads, and placing on their foreheads a lump of clay called *dcl-a*, (the women usually place it on the top of their heads) where it remains in a hardened state, a most uncomfortable ornament, until the days of mourning are ended. During the time between the death and the burial the Andamanese mother paints her child with clay, shaving the head, and folding the little limbs, so as to take up the smallest possible space; the body is then wrapped in large leaves fastened with strips of cane. While the mother is doing her part, the father digs a grave with his adze, in the place where his hut fire generally burns.

And now comes an action which surely tells us that these poor untutored Andamanese are the same flesh and blood as ourselves and possess just the same feelings of love and affection. When all the final preparations are made the little head is once more uncovered, and the parents gently blow upon the face two or three times in token of farewell. This done, the burial takes place, the body being put into the earth in a sitting position. On the trees which surround the

hut, or encircling the entire camping ground, long fringe-like wreaths of jungle cane are placed,—the object of this is, to tell any approaching stranger that a death has lately taken place.

As the spirit of the dead is thought to frequent for a short time its earthly dwelling place, the hut fire is re-lit, and the mother places beside the grave a shell containing some of her own milk, in order that it should not want nourishment. The whole encampment then depart to some other camping ground, generally two or three miles away, taking such things as will be needed during the time of mourning. As a rule, this lasts about three months; at the end of this time, they all return to the old encampment, and destroy the *dra*, as the long fringe-like wreaths are called. The parents occupy themselves in digging up the remains, the father taking them to the sea-shore or to the nearest creek, there to be cleansed and purified, he then returns with the bones and skull, the former of which he breaks up into small pieces, suitable for necklaces. The mother, after painting the skull with red-ochre *koi-ob*, and decorating it with small shells attached to pieces of string, hangs it round her neck with a netted chain called *rāb*.

The next few days are spent by the mother in manufacturing the bone necklaces, intending them for distribution among friends, as mourning mementoes. I should have said, however, that before this distribution takes place, the mourners remove from their heads, the uncomfortable piece of clay placed there on the day of the death; the wife also paints a most elaborate design in red-ochre on her husband, and also adorns herself in a like manner.

All things, then, having been duly done, according to the standard of Andamanese burial etiquette, the friends arrive to pay their final visits of condolence. During this visit the father sings some old song of his, on which all express their grief and sympathy, by breaking out into loud lamentations. The chorus of the song is sung by the women, while the parents indulge in a dance, which goes by the name of *i't-i-b-labyga* (the shedding of tears), they then retire to their hut, the mourning friends outside keeping up the song and dance for some hours to come. It should be observed, that the character of this dance does not differ from that which is customary at a wedding, or other joyful occasion, except in the long faces of the performers. The customs and rites at the burial of a grown-up person are similar to those just described, the friends blowing a farewell on the dead face, a nautilus shell filled with water, and some article which belonged to the dead Andamanese being placed by his side.

None but children are buried within the encampment, all others being carried to some distant or secluded spot in the jungle, and there buried. Two reasons are given for the practice they have, of placing the body with the face towards the rising sun; one being that it may sooner return to the dust from which it was made, the other that *jer eg*, or Hades, whither the souls of the departed flee, lies towards the east. Although in the majority of cases the outward show of grief is thoroughly real, there is no doubt that they hope by testifying their sorrow in the various ways mentioned, to conciliate the spirits of the dead, and to be by them preserved from many evils, which might otherwise befall them.

We now turn from grave to gay, from the elaborate rites

at an Andamanese death, to the more

An Andamanese Dance. festive scene of an Andamanese dance.

Let us try and picture the scene, one which to civilized minds seems most weird and dramatic. Let us transport ourselves, then, in imagination to a small clearing in the midst, or on the border of a dense jungle; there we see gathered together a hundred or even more, painted savages of both sexes; the moon sheds its light on all, while from each hut, the lurid glare of a wood fire throws its fitful shadows across the scattered groups; on one side, seated in a row, are the women who are to join in the refrain, on the other in dark relief within their several huts, are seen the audience, many of whom assist in marking time, by clapping their hands. In a conspicuous place, stands the composer and conductor, with one foot on the pointed end of a sounding board, and supporting himself on a spear, he gives the time to the singers and dancers, by kicking the board with the sole and heel of the other foot. (These sounding boards, *pû-kuta-yem-nga*, are scooped out of very hard wood, always of some shield-like shape, and are frequently as much as five feet long and two feet wide.) In this wearying work of marking time, the conductor is relieved by one of his male friends, and occasionally by a woman. During the solo, which is really a recitative, all other voices are hushed, and the listeners remain motionless; but as soon as the signal is given for the refrain, a number of men suddenly emerge from the gloom surrounding the encampment, and rushing excitedly into the arena perform their part with frantic energy, generally adding their voices to those of the women to swell the savage orchestra.

Some of the social habits and customs of these people are peculiar. Contrary to the custom of most races, no salutations pass between friends even after a long separation;

Social customs.

such as rubbing noses, kissing, and shaking hands. Kisses are considered as a sign of affection, but are only bestowed on children. In meeting, an Andamanese will remain silently gazing at his friend for an absurdly long time, the younger then makes some commonplace remark, which apparently has the effect of loosening their tongues, for they at once commence to talk of the latest scandals in Andamanese society. Relations after an absence of a few weeks or months, testify their joy at meeting by sitting with their arms round each other's necks, weeping and howling in a manner which would lead a stranger to suppose that some great sorrow had befallen them; indeed there is no difference between their demonstrations of joy on these occasions, and those of grief at the death of one of their numbers. The crying chorus at these times is started by the women, but the men quickly join in howling in concert, until from sheer weariness they are obliged to stop; when neither of the parties are in mourning, an impromptu dance is got up, in which the women, not unfrequently take part.

The Andamanese are known for their hospitality, and strangers introduced by mutual friends, are always warmly welcomed by the whole community. Of course by "strangers" we mean, Andamanese from other tribes, or other islands; they, as guests, are the first waited on, the best food is given them, and in every way they are well treated. 'Speed the parting guest' is the rule in all cases,—the host accompanies his guest to the landing place,—or at least some distance on the way. The guest bids farewell to his host in the poetical way usual among these islanders, by blowing upon his hand.

Concerning any bad habits the Andamanese have, it must be confessed with sorrow, that intercourse with Europeans and other foreigners, has unhappily opened their eyes to the existence of some vices of which they formerly had no knowledge; this is chiefly the case with regard to drunkenness: until they made our acquaintance, they were altogether ignorant of intoxicating liquors, and had no idea of their effect. To express a drunkard, they have manufactured a word signifying a 'staggerer.' Owing, however, to their extreme liking for all such drinks, much care has to be exercised, in order to prevent them from indulging this easily acquired taste.

Our advent, too, has brought to their knowledge the existence of tobacco, and it has been one of the evil results of our occupation of the islands. So rapidly has this habit of smoking progressed (both among men and women) that when at a distance from the Homes, and unable to obtain tobacco, they have been known to fill their short clay pipes with *pān* leaves, rather

than go without. "I have used the word 'evil,'" says Mr. Man, "advisedly, for there can be no doubt, from observations extending over many years, that the result of their excessive indulgence in tobacco, has been seriously to impair their constitutions. The attempts that have been made to check the mischief, have hitherto failed, as it has been found difficult, if not impossible, to induce them to do a stroke of work, without the accompaniment of the 'fragrant weed.'"

"The chief events of the year," says Sir Richard Temple, in this Report, "were the expeditions into the Jarawa country undertaken in consequence of murderous raids into the settlement by the tribe, which resulted unfortunately, in the death of Mr. P. Vaux, 7th Assistant Superintendent. They were nevertheless most successful, as they effectively taught the tribe that we could go anywhere into their territory if we chose, and that raiding would not be any longer allowed to go unpunished. They showed further that the attacks of the Jarawas were not due to chance collisions in the jungle, but were the outcome of deliberate attempts to steal iron for their spears, arrows, and adzes. They much improved our knowledge of the interior, of the Jarawa haunts, and of the economic contents of the forests.

Every possible effort was made to prove to the captives taken who were kept only for a brief period, that we had no animosity towards individuals. This attitude towards them, coupled with the evidence shown them of our power and capacity to reach them, will, it is hoped, put a stop to that annual raiding, which has cost us lives in nearly every year since the Settlement was formed.

It is of interest to note that the Jarawas are on the whole a larger, stronger, and more intelligent people than the coast tribes so long known to us, with distinct implements of their own. Where their language differs will have to be worked out hereafter, mutual unintelligibility being no indication of difference of origin in the Andamanese dialects.

An account of the expeditions is given in the body of this Report, but I would like to add here that one has to know the Andamanese jungle, its darkness and denseness, the ever-present danger in threading it from a coal-black enemy, noiseless of trade and armed with noiseless arrows, and the insect pests that inhabit it, to fully appreciate the skill and courage and endurance shown by the party composing the expeditions. One has also to know the narrow, tortuous, straits through the islands, their uneven depth and the strength of the tides through them, to quite understand what is involved in navigating them at night. Hence I would like to record here my sense of the good service performed by

the late Mr. Vaux, Mr. C. G. Rogers, Mr. M. Bonig, the Police, the native servants, and the Andamanese trackers that comprised the expeditions."

We give here, in detail, as one of the most interesting features of this Report, the account of the expedition against the Jarawas, who have hitherto remained, practically unknown.

The marauding parties of Jarawas, that almost every cold season make raids on the outskirts of the Penal Settlement, this season, in November 1901 and January 1902, raided the Forest Department gangs working at Jatang, about 25 miles north of Port Blair, killing and wounding convicts at their work. A party was organised in consequence to try and discover their haunts in the jungles and to put a stop to further raiding, but on a somewhat larger scale than usual, as the two last raids appeared to be more purposeful than hitherto.

The officials detailed for the duty were Mr. Percy Vaux, Officer in charge of the Andamanese, with Mr. Bonig, Assistant Harbour Master, and Mr. C. G. Rogers, Deputy Conservator of Forests. Men from the Andaman Military Police Force and picked Andamanese trackers accompanied them.

Mr. Vaux proceeded up the west coast of the South Andaman on 25th January 1902, and was successful in the very difficult operation of discovering the camps and paths of the Jarawas in the hills above Bilap Bay, about eight miles north of Port Campbell. He then, on the advice of the Andamanese with him, proceeded northwards to Port Anson and thence to Pochang, in the South Andaman, at the southern extremity of that harbour. Here, with much skill and difficulty, he discovered the main Jarawa track running southwards from the harbour, and also the chief place of residence of the Jarawas during the rains. Having accomplished this, Mr. Vaux returned to Port Blair and brought with him a much fuller report upon this practically unknown tribe than had hitherto been made. Mr. Rogers, meanwhile, was endeavouring to work his way direct from Jatang on the east across the South Andaman to Ike Bay on the west coast, right athwart the country believed to be occupied by the Jarawas.

Mr. Vaux was then directed to join with Mr. Rogers and make further investigations at Pochang, and after ascertaining that the main Jarawa path led southwards beyond Pochang indefinitely, the party returned to Port Blair. This expedition accomplished part of the objects aimed at, in that it showed where the Jarawas started from on their raids, and proved that the object of their unprovoked murderous attacks on parties from settlement working in the jungles was to procure iron and iron implements, and not to procure water and food as hitherto supposed.

On 17th February 1902 the party was reorganised thus : Mr. Vaux with Mr. Bonig, twelve Police and Andamanese ; Mr. Rogers accompanying them. The general object was to discover the southern termination of the main Jarawa path and to drive the Jarawa marauders northwards along it and away from the neighbourhood of the Settlement. The party started as before along the West Coast, and on the advice of the Andamanese searched the jungles about Island Bay some ten miles north and north-east, respectively, of the outlying villages of Templeganj and Anikhet. This was a task of much difficulty, and in the course of the search, in three parties under Messrs. Vaux, Rogers and Bonig, Mr. Vaux came in the evening upon a hunting camp of the Jarawas. Judging from its position and distance from the chief home of the tribe at Pochang, he inferred that the party's real object was a raid on the Settlement villages. He successfully rushed the camp by moonlight and discovered, among other things, a large new Forest Department adze which had been taken from a convict wounded in the Jarawa attack on Jatang in November 1901. This confirmed him in his suspicions as to the reason of the hunting party's presence so close to the Settlement. None of Mr. Vaux's party was hurt in this attack, the Jarawas being too startled to shoot.

In their flight the Jarawas left in the camp a baby and a small girl. This circumstance, and also the advice of the Andamanese as to further proceedings determined Mr. Vaux to proceed to Port Anson, to the Andamanese Home there, where the children could be taken care of. Adopting generally the advice of the Andamanese, Mr. Vaux then proceeded again to Pochang and followed the main Jarawa track southwards steadily, which proved, beyond Pochang, to be an exceedingly difficult affair. The party proceeded about fifteen miles' march beyond Pochang in a south-east direction to Wibtang, a point about six miles west of Port Meadows and some eighteen miles from Jatang : thus showing that the chief Jarawa haunt is the jungle between the mouth of Shoal Bay and Port Anson. At Wibtang an occupied hunting camp was found to block the way further, and Mr. Vaux judged it necessary to rush this camp at night as he had the previous one. For this purpose he selected one Police Constable and sixteen Andamanese, and there were besides these, himself, Mr. Rogers and Mr. Bonig and three servants : altogether twenty-three men.

The camp was rushed about 10 P.M. on the night of the 24th February after the moon had risen. Mr. Vaux went in first, followed by Messrs. Rogers and Bonig, the Andamanese coming up immediately behind. There was no real resistance ; but as Mr. Vaux was stooping down in a hut grappling with

two Jarawas, his foot disturbed the smouldering embers of a fire, which blazed up, exposing him to the view of a man in another hut, who shot two arrows at him and decamped. These were the only two arrows shot in the affair, but one of them a barbed iron-headed arrow, entered Mr. Vaux on the left side between the ninth and tenth ribs with great force, killing him almost immediately. Next morning, as soon as it was possible to see, Mr. Rogers carried back the body with many difficulties through the jungles to Pochang and Port Anson, reaching that Harbour in the evening, whence the body was conveyed in the steam launch *Belle* through Middle Strait to Port Blair, arriving about midnight on the 25th February. Two women and six children were found in the camp after the attack, who accompanied Mr. Rogers' party to Port Anson and onwards quite cheerfully, and it has been ascertained that the children found in the first camp rushed are closely related to one of these women. European iron implements were found in the camp also. These facts prove that the men in both camps were the parties which actually attacked the Forest Department convicts at Jatang in November. A number of implements of offence were found in both camps and have been removed. In fact, these particular bodies of marauders have been deprived of means of offence for some time to come.

Mr. Rogers deserves the greatest credit for his rapid march back through the jungles, during which one of his party was slightly wounded by a couple of Jarawas, who, however, decamped on being fired on. So, also does Mr. Bonig, for his skilful management of the steam launch *Belle* through so narrow a passage as Middle Strait at night. The conduct of the Police on the return march was exemplary.

The object then of the operations which Mr. Vaux with the assistance of Mr. Rogers and Mr. Bonig conducted with such conspicuous endurance, courage and skill, has been entirely carried out. Precise information has been obtained of the location of the Jarawas, of the real object of their annual raids, of the best mode of reaching them, and they have been taught that they cannot raid and murder with impunity. The return of the captured women will teach the tribe something of ourselves, and that we have the power, if we choose, to take their families away from them. Thanks also to the energy and determination of Messrs. Vaux and Rogers, much knowledge of the nature of the country and forests in the hitherto untouched interior of the South Andaman has been gained, and it is very satisfactory to note that the parties of Jarawas punished belonged to the actual perpetrators of the latest raids. No operations in relation to the Jarawas have hitherto been anything like so successful. It is therefore all the more to be

deplored that the leader should have lost his life in the chances of a struggle. It is a still more regrettable circumstance to record that the life need not have been lost, for at the last moment Mr. Vaux made an error in judgment in not waiting as usual for the Andamanese to rush into the camp first. Had this been done, it is more than probable that no life would have been lost. But it has been ascertained that he feared that if he did so the Andamanese accompanying him would kill all the men they could, and that the rest would escape with most of their weapons and stolen property. It was to avoid this that he determined to go before them when the word was given to attack, and thus he lost his life in a laudable, though mistaken, attempt to save bloodshed.

As a measure of precaution the outlying villages of Templeganj, Manpur, Anikhet and Muthra were protected by guards of Police and Andamanese trackers, and so were the distant forest files working at Jatang throughout the hot weather; but nothing more has been heard of the Jarawas, who, it is now hoped, will leave the Settlement alone.

As a measure of policy the women and children captured were returned on 11th March to Pochang with suitable presents after being shown about the Settlement, and especially by ocular demonstration the power of the rifle at the ranges. The confidence they exhibited towards the officials, and the absence of fear of Europeans displayed by them after landing will, it is hoped, have a favourable effect on the tribe. Two boys were kept behind in order to study their language, etc. One of these has unfortunately died of pneumonia, but the other is on very friendly terms with the Andamanese at the Home.

Nothing now remains for me, but to make a few remarks as to the efforts that have been made to civilize and Christianize the Andamanese. Efforts have been made, but

Attempts to Civilize.

without much success. If any effort is to succeed, especially in a religious direction, it must be undertaken by men who are prepared to practise self-denial, and who are devoted to their work. The spirit that animated those eleven Moravian Missionaries to the neighbouring Nicobar Islands and who died one after another at their fever-stricken post,—is the spirit that should animate a Missionary to the Andamanese. The spirit that animated the Roman Priest who on landing on the same island knelt down and kissed the ground in token that he had taken the island in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, is the spirit that should animate a Missionary to the Andamanese and Nicobarese. The unworldly spirit of Augustine, Xavier, Patteson and Mackenzie, is the spirit to animate the soul of a man who wishes to do much good among these light-hearted and simple-minded people.

There was, for a year, or two, a Church of England Lay Missionary working among them, he had learnt the language, and had just begun to plan out a scheme of work when he was recalled ; and now, spiritually speaking, the Andamanese are sheep without a shepherd, having no one specially to care whether they become Christians, or whether they remain in their heathen ignorance and darkness.

On turning to the moral side of the question, we find that up to about the age of ten or eleven years these aborigines can hold their own with ordinary children of civilized races, with respect to mental culture ; but after that age, further progress seems to be impossible. Some remarkable instances might be mentioned of boys and girls, who at no more than nine or ten years of age, were able to read difficult passages : physically speaking, training seemed to have a deteriorating effect.

A school for girls was established some thirty-four years ago, and two ladies from Kidderpore House, Calcutta, undertook the management of it ; after a few years' trial, it was given up, and of the girls in it only two remained true to their teaching. It was found that civilized clothing was not congenial to the Andamanese mind, indeed most of the girls succeeded in escaping from the School, leaving their clothes behind them, and swimming to their friends and kinsfolk in the jungle. The two Andamanese girls who continued to wear clothes, and were civilized, were called Ruth and Martha, but there was a vast difference between them, both physically and socially, Ruth being stout and ungainly, Martha slight and active. Ruth was a sort of upper servant at the Parsonage, Martha was a servant at one of the 'Subordinates' houses.

Ruth had been highly trained by Mrs. Homfray, the widow of a former officer in charge of the Andamanese, who was much beloved by them. She could speak, read and write English as well as converse glibly in Hindi, as she has been with English people from infancy, it is hardly necessary to say that she did not know her native tongue. Ruth was also an accomplished needlewoman, and clever at making designs and some idea of the advance she had made over her fellow countrymen, may be gathered from these facts, but further proof is found in her asking for an English dictionary, which she said she found 'very useful' when writing her letters. Society distinctions, too, were observed among these Andamanese maidens. Ruth complained that Martha would not speak to her because the one lived at the Parsonage, and the other with Subordinates, but I imagine it is rather that Miss Ruth fancied herself above her more humbly situated companion. It was very curious to see Ruth beside one of her naked unreclaimed sisters, and very amusing to notice the look of indifference and scorn on the face

of the uncivilised Andamanese woman. Ruth in all the glory of a serge dress—her round fat figure looking more round and fat if that were possible, by comparison—the wild lady attired only in her *bô-dda*, but with a graceful and active carriage, which said much for the freedom of the jungle, and the healthiness of jungle life, and very little for European clothes and European ways, when tacked on to a fat and ungainly Andamanese girl.*

Many years ago there was an Orphanage for boys under the charge of a native Catechist ; and as the Andamanese from various causes are rapidly dying out, this care for the children was the most promising of any civilizing work among the aborigines.

The Andamanese boys are very bright and happy little fellows, I heard an amusing story about one of them. The Missionary, although a young man, wears glasses, and one day, he was surprised to find one of his boys appear before him with a pair of glasses on, in a word, clothed only in glasses. On questioning the boy he found that he had been all the way to Ross Bazaar, to buy the glasses, and the reason he gave was "Me want to be all same like Master !"

All good things must come to an end, and our visit to the Andaman Islands was no exception to the rule. We left those Islands of "Good Fortune," one Saturday afternoon, in a heavy shower of rain, clouds overcast, and a driving wind. The unpleasant natural surroundings were more than counterbalanced by the hearty farewells and good wishes which greeted us on every side from the Chief Commissioner—the kindest of men—down to my brother's convict crew, under whose dark skins, there also beat hearts ready and faithful. A pleasant voyage, both as regards passengers and weather, the latter quite unexpected, brought us quickly and safely to our journey's end and thus there remains now, nothing but bright and pleasing memories of the Andaman Islands.

A. SAUNDERS DYER.

* These 'civilized' Andamanese girls are now both dead.

APPENDIX NO. IX.

Abstract of Crimes for which the prisoners (as per strength) on the 31st March 1902 were transported.

Crime.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Murder	7,298	712	8,010
Dacoity	2,558	...	2,558
Mutiny	70	...	70
Theft	490	3	493
Abduction of females and child stealing	49	2	51
Receiving stolen property ...	96	...	96
House-breaking	297	2	299
Causing grievous hurt	315	6	321
Robbery	374	1	375
Poisoning	31	8	39
Dishonest misappropriation of property	11	...	11
Mischief by fire	56	1	57
Criminal trespass	108	1	109
Forgery	31	...	31
Riot	18	...	18
Escape from lawful custody .	10	...	10
Rape	111	...	111
Unnatural offence	12	...	12
Using counterfeit coin	17	...	17
Waging war against the constituted authority of Native States	8	...	8
Harbouring an offender who escaped from lawful custody or whose apprehension has been ordered	9	...	9
Possessing arms without a license	2	...	2
Causing disappearance of evidence	9	...	9
Wilfully doing an act endangering persons in railway ways	10	...	10
Cheating	5	...	5
Thagghi ... ..	...	...	...
False complaint ... ..	...	...	...
TOTAL	11,995	786	12,731
Local Convicts	43	3	46
GRAND TOTAL	12,038	789	12,777

APPENDIX No. XI.

Statement showing the escapes and recaptures of convicts at Port Blair for the year 1901-1902.

				No.
Remaining uncaptured on the 31st March 1901	...	..	..	97
Deduct—Escapes at large over seven years	...	..	..	22
Balance of previous year's escapes	...	...	...	75
Escaped during the year	...	{ A By land	...	38
		{ B By sea	...	..
		{ C. Total	..	38
GRAND TOTAL				113
Recaptured during the year	...	{ A. Of those who escaped in previous year	..	1
		{ B Of those who escaped during the year	..	22
		{ C Total	...	23
Remaining uncaptured	..	{ A. Of previous year	..	74
		{ B. Of present year	..	16
		{ C. Total	...	90
Unexpired portion of sentence of those who escaped during the year.	{	A. Under one year	...	..
		B. Above one year and under three years	..	..
		C. Above three years and under seven years	..	4
		D Above seven years	..	34
		{ E Total	...	38

APPENDIX No. XII.

Showing the religion, age and previous occupations of convicts in Port Blair during the year 1901-1902.

				Males.	Females	Total	
Religion	{	A. Christian ...	a. Europeans	...	...	...
			b. Eurasians	3	...	3	
			c. Natives	39	2	41	
			B. Muhammadan	3,001	259	3 260	
			C. Hindu	6,895	459	7,354	
			D. Buddhist	2,014	8	2,022	
			E. Other classes	86	11	97(a)	
TOTAL				12,038	739	12,777	
Age	{	A. Under 16 years	...	1	5	6	
			B. 16 to 40 years	6,872	522	7,394	
			C. 40 to 60 years	4,292	180	4,472	
			D. Above 60 years	575	32	607(b)	
			TOTAL				11 740	739	12,479
Previous occupations.	{	Males ...	a. Landholders	170	...	170	
			b. Agriculturists	7,177	...	7,177	
			c. Labourers	1,847	...	1,847	
			d. Shop-keepers	420	...	420	
			e. Artizans	665	...	665	
			f. Government servants	238	...	238	
			g. Domestic servants	673	...	673	
			h. Weavers	504	...	504	
			i. Boatmen and Fishermen	191	...	191	
			j. Other callings	648	...	648	
			k. No occupation	3	...	3	
			l. Occupation not recorded	2	...	2	
			Females...	m. Married	...	731	731
				n. Unmarried	...	8	8
TOTAL				12,038	739	12,777	

(a) As per Census taken on 31st December 1901

(b) Exclusive of one licensed prisoner and Criminal Lunatic.

APPENDIX No. XIII.

Showing the state of education of the convicts received in the Settlement of Port Blair during the year 1901-1902.

	PROVINCES.												Grand Total.															
	Bengal.			Madras.			Bombay.			United Provinces.				Funjab.			Central Provinces.			Central India.			Hyderabad Assigned Districts.			Burma.		
	M.	F.	M.	M.	F.	M.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.		M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	
Of those received from India and Burma during the year there were.	198	17	120	3	144	16	381	16	191	6	43	8	19	..	36	..	111	..	1243	66	..	83	..	394
Unable to read and write.	15	..	3	15	..	13	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Able to read and write a little.	21	..	23	9	..	25	..	16	..	6	..	..	3	..	1	..	290	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Able to read and write.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Of the total of the year there were learned while in jail.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Neither to read nor write.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
To read and write.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
To read and write.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

ART. IX.—WHIPPING AS A JAIL PUNISHMENT.

IN a recent number* of this *Review*, the practice of flogging in general, and flogging of Europeans in particular, as a form of jail punishment, came in for some very grave criticism.

The strictures passed by the "Reviewer" are so severe, and his statements so positive, that it is possible, and indeed probable, that the uninitiated may accept the views set forth at their face value, without further enquiry. As a matter of fact, at least one of our leading local dailies has echoed the wish for a special investigation of the question of the flogging of Europeans in jail.

It is, I assume, reasonable to suppose, that when a time-honoured institution is attacked, the self-appointed critic would, to a certain extent, make sure of his grounds, and would display a sufficient acquaintanceship with the object of his attack, as to give rise to the supposition that he knew something concerning the institution he censures, and of the grounds on which he based his conclusions.

Although we are told that "our prisons are still, in some ways, in the Dark Ages." There is certainly neither darkness nor want of publicity where their internal economy is concerned. The Government Reports which are published annually are so complete and contain such a mine of information, that it would be difficult to imagine any detail, however trivial, that had not been given to the world. These Reports are published at so low a rate, that they are within the reach of all, who may be interested in the subject of Jail Administration.

The system of visits by independent laymen, and the facilities afforded them by Government, leaves no loophole for any irregularity to escape detection. There can, therefore, be no excuse for error in writing on this subject.

Having started with the assumption that one who sets out to subvert the ancient order of things, should have sufficient wisdom to be sure that he is standing on firm ground, let us examine a few of the statements on which the "Reviewer" has based his strictures. We are told { we have in this country practically none of Lombroso's criminal class among Europeans,"—To look into this point carefully, we must first understand what is meant by the term Europeans. The Bengal Jail Code tell us : "Europeans, Americans, Eurasians, Africans, Jews Armenians, or other persons of foreign extraction whose

* January 1908. "Report on the Administration of Criminal Justice in the Punjab during 1901" a criticism with a special note on the flogging of Europeans in Jail.

habits and manner of living more, nearly approach those of Europeans are classified as European prisoners." The term European is therefore most comprehensive in its jail significance ; and as all statistics are based on this interpretation, I think it is reasonable to assume that our " Reviewer " also bore this fact in mind. The number of pure-blooded Europeans committed to prison, for other than the most trivial crimes, is so small that it is hardly worth considering, nor can any special statistics concerning them be obtained. This fact alone shows that our " Reviewer " must have accepted the official meaning of the term European.

How then are the facts. At least fifty per cent. of the daily average of European prisoners in Bengal Jails are habitual offenders, and of these the majority belong to the criminal class of Lombroso. India can vie with Europe with regard to its type of criminal. A casual examination of the newspaper reports of the police courts will corroborate this statement.

Reading further, we find " The length of time required in hospital after this punishment shows how severe it is, and even a convict has a right to be considered in a climate where nervous shock is as detrimental to the system as India." This certainly sounds very dreadful—it looks as if the picture could easily be painted in darker colours. It makes one feel that it would be better if further data had been given of the percentage of cases admitted to hospital, and of the length of time actually spent under medical treatment. One would also like to know more of the nervous shock so detrimental to the system. Our " Reviewer " may of course have access to particulars that are not vouchsafed to all of us ; but surely in that case, his hands would have been strengthened, had he presented them to the world. As it stands, the statement can hardly be called more than a general one, unsupported by evidence.

What, however, are the facts ? Bengal Jails may be taken as possibly representative of Indian Jails in general at any rate their European statistics are quite typical, and may I think be taken as a fair basis for critical examination. During nineteen years preceding 1902 there were thirty-four cases of corporal punishment amongst Europeans. The average daily population was 465. In other words there were not two floggings a year for nineteen years. This would hardly seem to justify the hysterical cry which has been raised.

Of this very terrible total of floggings there is no evidence to shew which of the many varieties of European prisoners was so punished. Nor can I discover that any European prisoner was ever admitted to hospital as a result of such flogging ; indeed for several years no prisoner, European or native, has been admitted to hospital after corporal punishment in Bengal.

Our "Reviewer" goes on to say "moreover the evidence on which Europeans can be flogged in jail, is almost sure to be entirely native, and such a cruel and disgraceful punishment should not be inflicted on Europeans on the mere evidence of native prisoners——." Here we have another statement without the slightest attempt at proof. It is hardly worth refuting, displaying as it does, such an absolute ignorance of the conditions under which Europeans are confined in Indian Jails. It will be sufficient to state that Europeans are guarded, from unlocking to locking up, by paid European warders, and that they are practically never brought in contact with native convict officials. The statement that "no European can be found to undertake such work" (*i.e.* flogging) is imaginative.

The question of the factors concerned in the causation of crime is too large a one to enter on here, nor is it probable that much good can accrue from a discussion of the subject. No one disputes that certain varieties of crime depend largely on physical conditions; but it is carrying the thing too far to say that bad physical conditions are the only personal element concerned in the predisposition to crimes of impulse, it is as gratuitous as the assumption that even the majority of jail floggings are administered as punishments for crimes of impulse.

Crimes against nature possibly depend slightly on impulse but not a bad physical condition. They are always difficult of detection. Their extent and prevalence must always be conjectural. It is certain though that few realise how prevalent they are both inside and outside jail walls.

Corruptness and inefficiency of a jail staff do not appear to be conditions conducive to the detection and punishment of crime, and indeed in this point the Inspector-General of Jails, Bengal, remarked in 1881: "I have always considered a very small number of offences recorded to be a sign of defective discipline and short work," and again in 1883 he stated "so far from thinking that the record of an excessive number of offences reflects discredit on the management of a jail, I rather consider that it shows that discipline is good, and that a high standard of work is maintained." There is no doubt that these contentions are correct.

Jail statistics shew that a high rate of corporal punishment coincides with a low rate of crimes of violence.

Criminology is a subject fraught with the greatest interest, probably because so little is known concerning it. Many people have written on it, indeed every amateur of a philanthropic turn of mind feel justified in dabbling in it. It is doubtful whether much of any value has been published.

The common pitfall which entraps the unwary is forgetful-

ness of the fact that "The child is father of the man," we may measure our criminal, we may classify him by the colour of his eyes, or the length of his toes. We may throw the responsibility for crime upon our ancestors, or we may theorise to our heart's content, but we must not lose sight of the fact that man, be he saint or sinner, is only a grown-up child, moulded to his present shape by his environment and early training.

Criminals must to a large extent be treated as children ; discipline to be of any use must be firm ; nowhere as in a jail is exemplary punishment followed by such excellent results. The maxim "spare the rod and spoil the child" still holds good, and probably ever will.

Corporal punishment is the only effectual treatment for crimes of violence, and crimes against nature, not as "a dignified indication of abstract virtue, but as most beneficial to society and the individual, inasmuch as it is the only real deterrent punishment that is in the hands of those responsible for the good conduct and moral behaviour of our criminal classes either European or native."

J. M.

Since writing the above, I have been reading "Twenty-five years in seventeen Prisons by No. 7."* In this book the author amongst other matters gives his views on corporal punishment in jail. I reproduce them without comment.

"A mawkish sentimentalism lifts up its foolish head now-a-days in protest against the use of that very necessary deterrent the 'cat' or rather, the 'birch.' But why do penal heathens 'so furiously rage,' and, in their ignorance of known facts, 'imagine a vain thing' ? No convict prison in the country could be governed for a week were flogging abolished.

"Quite recently a brutal attack was made upon a comparatively inoffensive warder by a prisoner, who did not hesitate to use a chopper. Our *soi-disant* 'humanitarians' would hesitate to use the 'cat' on the dastardly ruffian who perpetrated the crime, and, so thoroughly has this cant of the 'humanitarian' debilitated the masculine, good, sound common sense of the country that this brute is allowed to escape, the castigation he deserves, and gets off with the nominal punishment of a dozen strokes with the 'birch—a small school boy's allo vance truly !"

* London, T. E. Robson & Co. 1903.

ART. X.—THE PERSONAL HISTORY OF DR.
WILLIAM HAMILTON, BENEFACTOR OF
CALCUTTA.

A WELL-KNOWN writer on Indian History has recently distinguished Dr. William Hamilton with the title of "Benefactor of Calcutta;" and it cannot be doubted that the fame of his name and exploits will last as long as the memory of the British Empire in India. The personal history of such a man should be interesting, but it has hitherto been unknown. I have recently done what I could to clear it up. For this purpose I have carefully gone through the Diary of Surman's Embassy to Delhi and the Bengal Public Consultations Books of the period which are preserved in the India Office. I have also read through a number of miscellaneous records such as the logs, receipt-books, and ledgers of the ships in the Company's service, the Miscellanies, Court Books, and Court Miscellanies and other odd bundles of letters in the India Office. I have written to the Minister of Bothwell in Lanarkshire and the living representatives of the Hamilton family, and I have made enquiries at the Edinburgh Register House, the Lyon Office of the College of Arms, the Royal Colleges of Physicians and of Surgeons of Scotland, and the Universities of St. Andrews, Edinburgh, and Glasgow. In this paper I desire to record the results thus attained.

William Hamilton was a cadet of the noble family of the Hamiltons of Dalzell which traced its origin to Gavin, third son of James, Lord Hamilton in the fifteenth century.* Fifth in descent from him was James Hamilton of Dalzell who married Jean, the daughter of Sir John Henderson of Fordell, by whom he had a large family. His large estates secured to him in 1663 by a charter under the seal of Charles II were divided at his death in 1668, and the farm of Boggs or Boogs in the parish of Bothwell, Lanarkshire, fell to his third son James.† Of this James, the first of the house of Boggs little is recorded, but of his only son John we are told that he was "persecuted for his religious opinions," which were displeasing to the Episcopalian Government of the restored Stuarts, and was "brought to much trouble for refusing to take the test."‡

* See Sir Robert Douglas's *Baronage of Scotland*, I, 463, also John Anderson's *Historical and Genealogical Memoirs of the House of Hamilton*.

† See Douglas's *Baronage* I, 464. Douglas, however, erroneously makes John of Boggs, the son of James of Dalzell, whereas he was the grandson. This mistake is corrected by Anderson.

‡ See Anderson's *Memoirs*, 237, (edition of 1825).

To John of Boggs were born seven sons, of whom the second William was destined to become famous in the annals of British India and to "raise his name to the four quarters by curing the King of Kings."* Beyond his parentage we know nothing certain of William Hamilton's early life. His boyhood was probably passed at Bothwell, then even more than now the garden of Scotland, a swelling stretch of yellow farmland, shaded by green groves and orchards, sloping from the upland braes to the murmuring Clyde. The son of a Covenanting and persecuted father he was no doubt early imbued with the political and religious tenets of the extreme Presbyterians, and must have often listened to the story of their sufferings, how they had fought in vain against Monmouth and Claverhouse at the narrow bridge of Bothwell and had fled to hide themselves in the dens and caves of the earth. As a young man he may have entered the University of Glasgow, and perhaps it is his name which appears among the signatures to a protest drawn up in 1696 denouncing conspiracies against the life of William III, and promising to avenge the king's death should he die by violence.† With

* Anderson *in. op. cit.* gives John of Boggs's family thus:—

1. James, his heir; 2. William, who was in the navy service; 3. Daniel, a Major in the army; 4. Alexander, master of a trading vessel to the West Indies; 5. David, master of a trading vessel to the coast of Guinea; 6. Thomas, a surgeon at Bath; and 7. John, a Colonel in Major Hamilton's battalion. William Hamilton in his will, dated the 27th October, 1717, describes his father as "my hon'ble father John Hamilton of Boggs in the parish of Bothwell."

† Unfortunately the rolls of *alumni* in Scotch Universities do not seem to record the father's name, so it is impossible to identify William Hamilton satisfactorily with any particular student. The Librarian of the University of St. Andrews has kindly given me the following entries: "1694, Mar. 30. St. Leonard's College (Matriculated) G. Hamilton, and 1699, Feb. 22, St. Leonard's College (Matriculated) Gul. Hamilton. The Christian names are supposed to be in Latin." The Assistant Clerk of the Edinburgh University tells me that "There was a William Hamilton attending the University in 1694." The Clerk of the Senate of the University of Glasgow wrote to me very kindly as follows:—"The name is a common one and occurs several times in the University lists of students *circa* 1700, but without sufficient particulars for identification. The name William Hamilton occurs in a list of students under Professor Carmichael, 1696, in a list of students under Professor Law, 1707; as the holder of the Hyndford Bursary, 1707; in a list of students under Professor Dunlop, 1708; and in a list of Laureati (those who received degrees in Arts), 1710; as well as in the list of students of Theology, 1698 and 1703. Professor Carmichael taught Moral Philosophy, Professor Law, Philosophy; and Professor Dunlop, Greek. The name also occurs in a list of students who (among others) signed a bond in 1696 protesting against conspiracies menacing the life of King William, and engaging the signatories to avenge his death should he die by violence." The name of William Hamilton is not found at this early date on the rolls of the Royal Colleges of Physicians or of Surgeons in Edinburgh. Of course it is quite possible

more likelihood it may be conjectured that he became attached to his cousin Anna, the daughter of Robert Hamilton of Wishaw,* and, in the hope of speedily gaining enough to marry on bade good-bye to home and country and went "to make the crown a pound" in the distant east. At any rate the earliest mention of William Hamilton in the India Office records occurs under the date of the 12th November, 1709, when he signed a receipt for £7, being two months impress paid him in advance for his services as Surgeon of the frigate *Sherborne*.†

For a young doctor thus to begin his professional career with a voyage to India was by no means uncommon, but the peculiar characters of William Hamilton and of his commander Henry Cornwall led in this instance to unexpected issues. If the few indications now left us are to be trusted William Hamilton was a man of great and unmistakable ability, with an insight into character which gained him influence over his fellow men, but he was wanting in ambition and hopefulness and his strength of will varied. Between Hamilton and Cornwall there was a most wonderful contrast of character. While Hamilton had ability without self-assertion, Cornwall had self-assertion without ability. A man of good family with a disposition honest, energetic and persevering, he had no tact, no self-control, no insight into character. Always believing himself in the right, he was generally in the wrong. About the year 1700 he had left the navy in which he had been employed for twelve years‡ and entered the service of the East India Company, where through the influence of his great friends he had hoped for speedy promotion. In this hope he was disappointed. For several years he was left unnoticed among the seafaring men at Madras,§ the captain perhaps of some small local ship, and became involved with a certain Elizabeth Browne, whom he in the end promised to marry expecting through her to get preferment in England. Her recommendations, however, proved of little avail. Returning home in 1707, Cornwall found great difficulty in getting any employment,

that our William Hamilton like his great uncle Sir David Hamilton, the Court Physician, studied medicine abroad at Leyden or Rheims or some other continental school.

* The mention of her in William Hamilton's will is surely significant.

† See Receipt Book of the *Sherborne*, page 4; India Office Marine Records, 148 B.

‡ See in the Court Miscellanies VIII, Cornwall's letter to the Court dated the 2nd September 1713, also *ib.* IX, a letter signed by Lord Winchester and others, 5th October 1714.

§ See the lists of Madras European Inhabitants, 1701—1780, in the India Office.

married, ran into debt, and was at last glad to find himself in command even of a small ship.*

The *Sherborne* was a frigate of only 250 tons, carrying 22 guns.† In September 1709 she had been taken up for a pepper voyage.‡ and was with much hesitation despatched to Bencoolen. On the 11th of January, 1710, a muster was taken by Mr. Blakeley at Portsmouth, and the ship's company returned as consisting of 52 officers and seamen and 19 soldiers.§ Leaving England some time in February the *Sherborne* arrived at Bencoolen after an uneventful voyage of some six months. On the 7th of August she left, bound for the east coast of India.|| The evil fate which pursued Captain Cornwall throughout his life now overtook him. As men then reckoned, the *Sherborne* was "a small ship of little defense, a heavy sailer and indifferently manned;"¶ and her crew had been brought to the verge of mutiny by the harsh treatment they had received from their captain who caned or whipped them for the slightest faults.** On the 1st September the ship was sailing along the shoaling coast of Ceylon. The weather was fine and the lead was kept going; when at six o'clock in the evening the ship with all sails standing struck in nine fathoms of water upon a spit of sand at Mullaittivu to the north of Trincomalee, eighty miles from Point Pedro.†† According to one account every effort was made to get the ship off, but it seems clear that the men cared little what became of her. At midnight her captain left her to seek help from strangers. After twenty-three hours in an open boat Cornwall landed at

* See his letter in the Madras Public Consultations, 19th February 1711.

† See Miscellanies II, 234. The log of the *Sherborne* is lost.

‡ See Cornwall's letter offering her to the Court in the Court Miscellanies I, also the Fort General Letter of 2nd February 1712/3, para 9.

§ See Miscellanies II, 287. "A list of the names of the officers and seamen belonging to the *Sherborne* frigate, Capt. Henry Cornwall, Commander, mustered at Portsmouth the 11th January 1709 (*i.e.* 10) by Mr. Blakeley.—Henry Cornwall, Commander; John Brocket, first mate; John Cooke, second mate; John Tempest, third; Chas. Wibery, fourth; William Hamilton, Surgeon; Henry Price, Purser; 45 other officers and seamen, and 19 soldiers." From the ledger of the *Sherborne* (Marine Records, 148C) it appears that the captain received £10 a month, the first mate, £6; the second, £4-10; the third, £3; the fourth, £2; the Surgeon, £3-10; and Archibald Liston, the surgeon mate, £2.

|| See a letter from Fort St. George, dated 27th December 1710, in the India Office, the *Sherborne* had on board as a passenger Mr. Harrison who afterwards became Governor of Fort St. George.

¶ See Madras Public Consultations, 17th July, 1711.

** See their complaints in the Bengal Public Consultations for the 19th, 20th and 23rd October, 1710.

†† See Fort St. George General letter to the Court dated the 27th December 1710 11, para. 20, in the India Office, a loose paper.

Point Pedro, and made his way to Jaffnapatam. Here he was kindly received by the Dutch Governor who sent him back with as many sloops as could be spared. Meanwhile the crew had deserted the ship. Meeting their captain as he was returning from Jaffnapatam the mutineers told him that he need trouble himself no more about the *Sherborne*; her decks had fallen and she was broken to pieces. Not a man would consent to return to his duty till he had received his discharge,* and "it was only with the assistance of the Dutch that the ship was, on the 8th September, got clear of the sand, and brought to anchor off Point Pedro. She was found to have sustained comparatively little damage, but it was agreed on all hands that the safest course now left was to sail straight for Bengal.† On arriving in the Hugli at the beginning of October the crew would have again deserted had not the Council at Fort William in response to the urgent representations of the captain sent strict orders to every officer and every man to obey his commander and do his duty. Under such compulsion the ship was brought up the river to Calcutta by the 16th of October. A protracted enquiry was held into the mutinous conduct of the crew and many of the officers and men were examined. They refused to serve under Cornwall any longer, and the Council knowing that it would be impossible to re-man the ship was afraid to proceed to extremities. At length on the 26th of October, having received promises of better treatment from Cornwall they consented to go on board again, all except the second mate John Cooke, and he was ordered to be sent to England for punishment.‡ But this apparent settlement of the quarrel did not secure approval from the Court at home who sympathised with the men, nor did it meet with much success in Calcutta.§ In the end most of the men deserted, and when the *Sherborne* arrived at Madras in February, 1711, she had on board her, out of her complement of fifty, only nineteen men and boys. Peremptory orders were given to make up the full number, and on the 3rd March the *Sherborne* was despatched with reinforcements to Cuddalore and Fort St. David where the English were engaged in hostilities with the Rajah of Jingi.||

* *Ib.* para. 21.

† See the Fort St. George General letter quoted above, para. 22, Mr. Harrison did not go on in the *Sherborne*.

‡ See Bengal Public Consultations for October, 1710.

§ See Bengal General Letter from the Court of the 28th December 1711, para. 22.

|| See Madras Public Consultations of the 1st and 19th February and of the 3rd March.

What share had Hamilton taken, up to the present time, in the dispute between Cornwall and the crew? It would be difficult for a man of his ability to tolerate the pig-headed captain, but it was certainly his interest to do so. Did he then openly side with the men, or did he keep quiet? It would seem that hitherto he had patiently endured. His name was not mentioned at the enquiry into the meeting held in Calcutta. He did not desert his post with the faithless majority, he went with his ship from Calcutta to Madras, and from Madras to Cuddalore. Here for the first time, as far as we know, his patience gave way and he tried to leave the *Sherborne*. It was suggested in March by the authorities at Fort St. David that the services of Dr. Hamilton were required ashore, but Cornwall protested so vigorously that the suggestion was dropped.* Farmer, the Deputy Governor of Fort St. David forbade him to quit his post, but the third in the Council, Baker, was more favourably disposed. On the evening of the 3rd May, 1711, the Doctor informed Baker that the Government had given him permission to go to Madras, and in confirmation produced a letter from his kinsman Captain Hamilton. On this Baker not only gave him leave but furnished him with the means to go. That night William Hamilton took his fate in his hands, deserted his duty, and made his escape to Madras in a country boat under a false pretence.

Captain Cornwall reported the desertion to the Council of Fort St. George in a letter which bears evident traces of his violent temper. "Last Night my Surgeon Alexander Hamilton,"—the captain was too angry to remember his doctor's correct name,—“made his Escape in a boat from Cuddalor[e] producing a Letter from Capⁿ Hamilton to Mr. Baker wherein was Incerted he had leave from the Govern^r of Fort St. George to proceed forthwith to that Place and that Govern^r Fraser and his Council had writt to Govern^r Farmer to that Effect (Mr. B[a]ker being inclin'd to act contrary to Govern^r Farme[r's] Order gave him leave and Assisted him with a bo[at] so I presume before this arrives he'll be Incognito according to Capⁿ Hamilton's directions perhaps

* See a letter to Fort St. George from the Council at Fort St. David and another from Captain Cornwall, dated 13th March 1711, Nos. 449 and 450 in the Madras Press List of Records. Captain Cornwall's letter is written in such evident haste and passion that it is barely intelligible. The letters are given at the end of this paper, copies of them having been procured for me through the kindness of Mr. A. P. Pringle, Assistant Secretary to the Government of India.

his Ship may be thought the securest place or so[] that part I must refer to Your Honr, &c. Council and can't omitt saying yor Honrs Countenance to this Vile fellow has occasion'd this proceed I humbly request your Honr &c Council will put up an Order at the Sea gate that no Commander shall carry him from the place on what pretensions soever and under what penalty Yor Honr &c Council shall think fitt Capⁿ Hamilton being a relation is mos[tly] to be suspected so beg he may be Order'd in p[er]icul[ar] and the Ships in the Road search'd Immediatly if yor Honr &c approve the same that there may be no pretensions for any other Nation to carry him off I humbly request yr Notes may be writt In Severall Languages all the gentlemen here may judge of my treatment to him and what liberties he had to serve himself—Yor Honr &c., have already receivd a protest upon this Mans Account from all my Ships Company they will certainly prefer the same so I hope Your Honr, &c will seriously consider this and of what consequence it may be I hear there is Severall Surgeons at Madrass I had much rather have any than him but without one my people will be very much disatisfied and not without reason this comes in some hast so I hope Yor Honr will pardon."

In consequence of this letter the Council of Fort St. George sent for Dr William Hamilton on the 7th of May, and ordered him to prepare to go on board the *Sherborne* as soon as she returned to Madras. But there is no evidence that he ever obeyed this order. On the contrary he probably continued his flight from Madras to Calcutta.

In the ledger of the *Sherborne* the account of William Hamilton, "Chyrurgion," is closed with the scornful word "run" And his life's reckoning might well have closed with the same shameful entry, were it not that the Divine Accountant is more long suffering than man. Hamilton lived to rue bitterly the false step he had taken, for in leaving his ship he left for ever home and country, father and kindred, and all that might have been, had he returned to marry his Anna and make his name as a great doctor in the land of his birth. Yet he lived to wipe out the memory of his false step by actions which brought lasting benefit to his nation, and from the hour of his leaving the *Sherborne* he belongs for ever to British India.

In December, 1711, Hamilton was out of employment in Calcutta, and the Council of Fort William were in need of a second surgeon. Knowing what sort of man Captain Cornwall was, they were not likely to regard running away from the *Sherborne* as an unpardonable offence, and so on the 27th of December they resolved that William Hamilton should

be "entertained upon the same allowance and privileges as William James our present surgeon."* Two years later, when the Council were selecting men for the embassy to Delhi, their choice again fell upon Hamilton. On the 5th of January, 1714, they resolved that it was necessary that one of the surgeons should go up with the gentlemen who go with the present and that Dr. Hamilton should be sent.† He was given Rs. 300 to provide himself with clothes,‡ and probably started for Patna with the present some time in April.

The proceedings of this embassy are faithfully recorded in the Surman Diary which begins in August 1714 at Patna. Here no less than eight months were spent in preparation and the embassy could not really start till the 6th April 1715. The journey which a modern traveller would perform in a few hours in a comfortable first class railway carriage took Dr. Hamilton three months in a jolting palanquin "slightly plated with silver." § The Court at Delhi besides numerous native practitioners had in its employ a French physician Monsieur Martin. || The English doctor, however, in a short time surpassed all his professional brethren in repute. His first distinguished patient was the Lord High Steward, Taqarrub Khān ¶ This noble was suffering according to some from consumption, according to others from divine retribution. With his hand upon the Quran he had falsely sworn that the life of Zū-l-siqār Khān should be spared. In this way Zū-l-siqār had been entrapped and murdered, and Taqarrub Khān's right hand at once began to wither. On the 25th July, 1715, Dr. Hamilton was ordered to "physic" the Lord High Steward** with whom he took up his residence, but whose case he pronounced hopeless. A little later Farrukhsiyar who was

* See Bengal Public Consultations for the 27th December 1711. William James, by the way, had also begun life as a shi'ite doctor having come to India in 1709 as Surgeon of the *Des Bouve*; see Miscellanies II, 285.

† See Bengal Public Consultations, for the 5th January 1714

‡ See Bengal Public Consultations, for the 26th February 1714. Afterwards, however, it was complained that this allowance was not enough; see Surman, Diary for the 24th January, 1715.

§ See Surman Diary for 30th November, 1714.

|| Mr Irvine, to whom I owe much of my knowledge of the contemporary Mahammadan History, tells me that Mātin Khan, as he was called, was the Mogul Doctor for 40 or 50 years and died in the reign of Muhammad Shah.

¶ Mir Muhammad Jafar, Shīrāzī, entitled Taqarrub Khān first appears in the English records in July 1708, when he befriended the English. (See my Early Annals of the English in Bengal I, 179 and 298, where his name is wrongly spelt Dafar.) He was then Mir Sāmān to Prince Farrukhsiyar. When Farrukhsiyar became Emperor, Mir Muhammad Jafar became Khānsāmān or Lord High Steward. Mirzā Muhammad in his Tazkirah relating the events of Rabī II, 1128 tells us that "on Friday the 9th of the said month Muhammad Jafar, Shīrāzī, . . . who had been severely ill of consumption for a year last died at Shāhjahānābad" (i.e. on the 1st April 1716 N. S.)

** See Surman Diary for 25th July, 23rd August, and 30th September, 1715.

suffering from swellings in the groin put himself in Hamilton's hands with the most beneficial results.* The English treatment naturally gave more satisfaction to the king than to the Lord High Steward. On the 30th September the latter having "gratified Hamilton, dismissed him and took to other doctors. On the 3rd of October the empress mother herself sent for the English doctor, and with the help of an interpreter a long conference was held on the subject of His Majesty's health. This time the king was suffering from a violent pain which he feared would turn to fistula. The disease whatever it was taxed all Hamilton's skill for nearly two months, during which he was exposed to much misrepresentation and jealousy. The introduction of a new doctor could not have been pleasing to Monsieur Martin or to the Hindu and Musulman practitioners at Court, and even excited the suspicions of the populace. Monsieur Martin sided with the king's doctor in opposing the new-comer.† On one occasion as Hamilton was "coming from the fort at night his head was cut with a pebble, of which the king being informed, he ordered search to be made for the offender, and gave the doctor people for his protection."‡ On another occasion, according to tradition, in consequence of a rumour that the king had died under the surgeon's hands the house of the English ambassadors was surrounded by an infuriated mob who could only be appeased by Farrukhsiyar's showing himself from a gallery of the palace. At length, on the 20th November, all the plasters having been removed, the king washed himself and received the congratulations of the whole Court.§ A week later he publicly presented Hamilton with a jewelled plume, a vest, two diamond rings, an elephant, a horse, and five thousand rupees. "His Majesty further ordered buttons for a whole suit of clothes to be made of gold and set with diamonds and rubies, as also the handles of all his small instruments of solid gold."|| These took many months preparing and were not actually presented to Hamilton till the 19th April 1716. Three days after these distinctions had been conferred on the English doctor, Monsieur Martin's feelings were soothed by the gift of "a vest, elephant, and a thousand rupees, a favour purely owing to His Majesty's generosity and because he was his servant."¶

* See Surman Diary for 30th July and 16th August 1715

† See Surman Diary for the 19th October 1715.

‡ See Surman Diary for the 7th November 1715

§ See Surman Diary which records on the 15th November 1715 that the king is perfectly recovered, and on the 20th that he washed himself. In their letter to Fort William, dated the 7th December, the English ambassadors say that the king washed himself on the 23rd.

|| See Surman Diary for the 30th November.

¶ See a letter from the Embassy to Fort William dated the 7th December 1715

On the 12th May 1716 the king again sent for Hamilton, being fearful that his old sores were breaking out. But "Hamilton made light of the matter and advised" the king to have other physicians called. But His Majesty would not "hear of it besides he has ordered the greatest privacy."* The doctor, however, must have been right in his diagnosis, for the English heard no more from His Majesty and so believed him perfectly well.† In September Hamilton was consulted once or twice by the Vazir; in April 1717 he attended the wife of the Grand Vazir's uncle.‡

Such is in outline the story of Hamilton's professional services at the Court of Delhi. It is the traditional belief that the influence he thus acquired over the king materially assisted the embassy in gaining its objects; but this has been questioned by modern writers. Busteded, for instance, believes that the concessions made by Farrukhsiyar were "wrung by fear, not given in gratitude." I believe that tradition is nearer the truth than modern history. I think that the emperor and his vazir were well inclined to the English from the first, and that Hamilton's services made them still more ready to grant privileges which they would probably have granted in any case out of policy and natural inclination. Jahāndār Shāh had patronised the Dutch, therefore the new régime patronised their commercial rivals Azimu-sh-Shāh had granted the tenancy of three villages to the English, and his son might well grant the tenancy of a few more. Why then did it take two years to grant the requests of the embassy? Because the embassy consisted of young and inexperienced men who did not understand the proper official procedure and were consequently imposed upon by a crowd of greedy Court underlings. These men thrust themselves in between the vazir and the embassy, traded on its ignorance, and wasted its time, while they took large bribes for doing what they had no power to do.

At length, at the beginning of the year 1717, the embassy had bribed and blundered its way to its objects. On the 20th February, as soon as the great seal had been placed on their three firmans the ambassadors applied for their dismissal.§ As usual they did not proceed through the proper official channel, the grand vazir. They entrusted their petition to their patron Khwāja Asim, Khān Dauān and to their deputy patron, Abū-l-Hasan Salābat Khan. Though the kind offices of these courtly nobodies

* See Surman Diary for the 12th 13th and 16th May, 1716.

† See Surman Diary for the 24th May 1716

‡ See Surman Diary for the 19th and 23rd September, 1716, and for the 1st and 6th April 1717.

§ See a letter from the Embassy to Fort William, dated the 23rd February 1717, and one to Bombay, dated the 30th March at the end.

three months were spent in wearisome formalities.* In conformity with the firmans orders signed by the grand vazir had to be issued to various local officers and these were delayed by the clerks in the Treasury Office.† A fourth firman in answer to Governor Hedges's letter had to be drawn up signed and sealed‡ Lastly the king, the grand vazir and the Khān Daurān had each in turn to formally dismiss the members of the embassy with suitable presents, which gave rise to many nice questions of distributive justice. Salābat Khān professed to be anxious that the English ambassadors should be despatched with at least the same honours as had been shown to the Dutch and the Portuguese in the previous reign, but on the 28th April when the list of honours was announced it was found that, while the Bengal President was to receive an elephant more than the General of Batavia, Mr. Surman and his companions were to get less than the Dutch envoys. In their eagerness to go the ambassadors, though surprised at this treatment after making a quadruple present, would have raised no objections;§ but Salābat Khān protested that his honour was in question. According to his own account he angrily attacked Khān Daurān who sheltered himself under the authority of the king. It then appeared that the Majesty himself had refused to recognise the example of the usurping Jahāndār Shāh and had declared that it would be a dangerous precedent to make too much of European ambassadors.|| But Salābat Khān insisted, so he said, that Surman should have an extra horse and a dagger, and in deference to his wishes the concession was made.¶ At the same time it was stipulated that these presents should not all be made to Surman on the same day. At one reception he was to have the horse and dagger, and at the next his p'ume and vest. The other members of the embassy were to receive dresses of honour only. For these distinctions they had in the end to pay handsome sums to the superintendent of elephants, the keeper of the robes, and the jewel and perfume offices.**

When after much angry discussion between Khān Daurān and Salābat Khān these details had been settled the English expected to be allowed to depart. On the 10th, 15th, 16th and 20th May they patiently waited at the emperor's receptions; but

* See a letter from the embassy to Fort William, dated the 10th April, 1707, towards the end: see also the Surman Diary for April, 1717.

† See Surman Diary for the 22nd March, 1717.

‡ See Surman Diary for the 7th March, 1717.

§ See Surman Diary for the 28th April, 1717.

|| See Surman Diary for the 30th April and 1st May, 1717.

¶ See Surman Diary for the 10th May, 1717.

** See Surman Diary for the 27th May and the 10th, 11th and 12th June, 1717.

nothing was done.† At length on Thursday, the 23rd May, Surman received his first instalment of parting honours, the promised dagger and horse; but nothing was said about the dismissal of the embassy. On the 26th May the embassy did what it should have done several months earlier. It waited on the grand vazir, offered him a present, and asked "his permission to be dispatched from his Majesty." The whole procedure of the embassy had been regular and insulting to the grand vazir, but he was too good natured and too well disposed to the English to take offence. He "readily consented" to their requests and said that, if he had the opportunity, "he would speak to the king in their behalf. Then he ordered them. now their business was done to visit him frequently without bringing anything."‡ Two days later the embassy repaired for the last time to the Court of Public Audience. For the last time the ambassadors looked upon that brilliant scene: within the railed enclosures, throngs of Indian nobles covered with gold and jewels, without, the bright sunshine which the purple awnings could only partially exclude. The curtains were drawn aside from the royal alcove above them and Farrukhsiyar appeared seated on his throne. John Surman was now duly invested with his dress and plume, and dresses of honour were put upon the other members of the embassy. Then one by one they made their obeisance to the throne and passed from the Court, the last being Hamilton to whom Farrukhsiyar was so much indebted. He was moving off like the rest when an order from the throne suddenly stopped him and bade him resume his place. The vest bestowed on him merely betokened the royal favour and did not permit him to leave. The king rose, the curtains were drawn, the audience was over.§

Those and only those who have spent long years in India away from their native land will understand Hamilton's feelings on this occasion. He had gone on board the *Sherborne* with the expectation of returning within two or three years at the most, an expectation which had been destroyed by his desertion at Cuddalore. But with the embassy fortune had smiled upon him. At the beginning of the year 1716 he could write home to his father and Anna telling them that his exile was drawing to a close and that he was soon coming home famous and rich.|| And now to be detained indefinitely

† See Surman Diary for the dates given.

‡ See Surman Diary for the 28th May, 1717.

§ See Surman Diary for the 30th May, 1717.

|| This is more or less conjectural. More than once we find the Mogul officials speaking of Hamilton's wife and family, thus on that 11th June, 1717, the vazir told him to come back and "bring his wife and family with him." Hamilton's will makes it clear that he was not married but it

at Delhi! Hamilton lost all patience at the very thought of it. Again and again he was entreated to accept the service of the Mogul, but he could not have been induced to stay if Farrukhsiyar had appointed him grand vazir and given him the Peacock Throne. "No," said he, "if the king will have me, he may keep me in irons, but I'll not accept his bread much less his service." And these were no idle words. "We are satisfied," say the ambassadors in their diary, "that should he be kept by force, his stay would be no longer than the first opportunity to elope. For such a burning desire reigns in him after his own country, that neither promises nor threats can avail anything."* There was nothing for it but to importune the king to let him go. With their usual perversity the ambassadors applied to Khān Daurān; but he seems to have at last got tired of playing the part of Jack Lofty. "I have spoken to the king twenty times concerning this affair," he angrily declared, "and can speak no more unless you have a mind to make me ridiculous. Let Mr. Surman go to the vazir and engage his intercession with his Majesty, and then I may find an opportunity to speak effectually."†

These instructions though sound came a little late, but then it was not to be expected that Khān Daurān would be in haste to inform the English that he had not the power which they supposed him to have. On applying to the grand vazir all difficulties speedily vanished. On the 4th June the whole case was laid before him. He accordingly at once forwarded to the king a copy of Hamilton's petition enforcing it with a pathetic address of his own writing.‡ On the 6th June the royal answer came back. "Since he is privy to my nakedness and perfectly understands his business, I would very willingly have kept him and given him whatever he should have asked. But seeing he is satisfied with no terms, I agree to it provided that after he has gone to Europe, procured such medicines as are not to be got here, and seen his wife and children he return once more to revisit this Court. Let him go."§

While Hamilton was thus struggling to get free from Delhi and return to his native land, a letter from London was on its way to Calcutta releasing him from the Company's service as well. On the 15th February, 1716, the Directors in their

mentions his cousin Anna. Putting these things together I think it highly probable that Hamilton intended to go home and marry Anna, and that he explained this to the Mogul Court. I further think that the existence of such definite intentions shows that Hamilton had regularly corresponded with his family and had duly informed them of his varying fortunes.

* See Surman Diary for the 30th May, 1717.

† See Surman Diary for the 30th May and 1st June, 1717.

‡ See Surman Diary for the 4th June, 1717.

§ See Surman Diary for the 6th June, 1717.

Bengal General Letter wrote, "Reduce the surgeons. We think one head surgeon enough, and two or three assistants under him. Dr. Colt we sent from hence ; him keep. Dismiss Mr. Harvey, and, unless you can give us very good reason to the contrary, dismiss Mr. Hamilton on his return from Court." Advantage has been taken of these orders, by modern writers to express indignation at the ingratitude of the Company. In the present case such indignation is quite uncalled for. Even if the Directors had dismissed Hamilton against his wish and the wish of the Council at Calcutta, I do not see that they could have been greatly blamed. From their point of view he was a ship's doctor who had deserted his duty and had been irregularly appointed at Calcutta. When they did hear of his success in curing the Great Mogul they changed their tone and said that if Dr Hamilton desired a continuance in their service it should be readily granted.* But as a matter of fact the original orders dismissing the doctor were quietly accepted by the Council at Calcutta† and Hamilton himself did not desire to continue in the Company's service. In those days furlough and leave were unknown, and a servant of the Company could not return to Europe without resigning his appointment. Doubtless when Hamilton heard that he was to be dismissed at the conclusion of the embassy, he welcomed the order with a feeling of intense relief like that with which the modern European official learns that he has been granted furlough. Had Hamilton been informed of the subsequent offer made by the Directors to continue his service he would have declined it with thanks.

Unhappily he did not live to hear the news. Somewhat older, it would seem, than the other members of the embassy, its hardships had tried his constitution very severely. In returning from Delhi to Calcutta his health finally broke down. On the 27th of October, at Surujgara, on board a boat descending the Ganges, Hamilton made his will. He died on the 4th of December just after reaching Calcutta. Here he was buried in the old cemetery which now lies in the heart of the modern city. In 1786 when digging the foundations of the steeple of St John's Church the masons brought to light the tombstone of the great doctor. Warren Hastings who was familiar with the story of the embassy, wished this memorial to be placed in the centre niche of the entrance to the church, and the letters gilt ; but it is now in the

* See Bengal General dated the 18th January 1717, para. 82.

† See letter to Court dated the 13th February 1716 (*i.e.* 1717), para. 93, summarised in the "Correspondence Papers," 1713-1715, vol. I.

Charnock mausoleum. The inscription is in English and Persian, and runs as follows :—

Under this stone lyes interred the body of WILLIAM HAMILTON, Surgeon, who departed this life the 4th December 1717.

His memory ought to be dear to this Nation, for the Credit he gained ye English in Curing Ferrukseer, the present king of Indostan, of a Malignant Distemper, by which he made his own Name famous at the Court of that Great Monarch; and without doubt will perpetuate his Memory, as well in Great Britain as all other Nations in Europe.

ولیم هملتن حکیم نوکر کمپنی انگریز کہ ہمراہ ایلچی انگریز حضور پر نور
رفتہ بود و اسم خود در چہار دانگ بسبب علاج شامنشاه عالم پناہ محمد فرخ سیر غازی
بلند کردہ بہزار تصدیقہ از درگاہ جہان پناہ و خدمت وطن حاصل نمودہ بقضائے الہی
چہارم دسبریک ہزار و ہفتصد و ہشتادہ در کلکتہ فوت شد در اینجا مدفون است *

NOTE A. A LETTER FROM FORT ST. DAVID ABOUT
HAMILTON.*

To

The Hon^{ble} WILLIAM FRASER, Esq^r
President and Governor of Fort St. George
and St. David &^c Council

No. 36

Hon^{ble} S^r &^c

This acknowledges the Rec^d of Yo^r Ho[] of the primo and 7th Instant the former of w^{ch} came by the *Sherborne* wth 8,000 Pag^{as} and Severall Stores as p^d the accompanying lists Invoyce and bill of Loading the Stores are not all yet come ashore so cannot advise if the quantity comes out right nor the Condition they are in but after they are hould shall examine into both and give Yo^r Hon^r &^c an account thereof the Military by said Ship are stationd at the companys Garden w^{ch} is contiguous to y^e Outguards of Trepopolore and Billeveroyuntum the better to march to the relief of Said places in case of an Allarm Wee shall observe Yo^r Hon^r &^c Orders Relating to Capⁿ Jⁿ Roach and that he have a Horse to view the bounds whensoever he enquires t—By Ship *Industry* wee Sent Yo^r Hon^r &^c 435 bales w^{ch} had been on board Said Ship many days having kept and detaind her so long on Account of the Advices Yo^r Hon^r &^c gave Us that the French Ships were Sent and spoken with off Saddrassapatam w^{ch} wee esteemd a Sufficient Reason for her detention but if Yo^r Hon^r &^c had any Urgent Occasion for Said Bales your Hon^r &^c might overland Soon have Sent an Order for them w^{ch} should have been readily obeyd—Dr. Morton by the permission Yo^r Hon^r &^c gave him of being dischargd

* Copied from Vol XII, Letters to Fort St. George, referred to as No. 449 in the *Madras Press List of Records*, 1711.

the companies service is very pressing, to leave this place and is resolv'd to be gone when Mr. Jones Sloop Sails for Fort St. George if wee could have got Dr. Hamilton to Supply his place it had been well enough but Capⁿ Cornwell says he cannot spare him so that when Dr. Morton is gone the Fort & Cudolere must be without a Surgeon wh^{ch} is a very great disheartning to all in generall but more in particular the Military at this Juncture if Yo^r Hon^r &^s please to Send Mr. Jolly or any good Surgeon to reside here before Mr. Morton's departure twill be a generall Satisfaction in hopes of Which crave Leave to Subscribe.

Honble S^{rs}

Your most obedient Servants,

RICHARD FARMER,

JNO. BERLUE,

RICH HARRISON,

PHIP. BAKER,

MATW. WELD,

HEN. COLRELL.

FORT ST. DAVID : }
March y^e 13th 1711. }

NOTE B. ANOTHER LETTER FROM CAPT. CORNWALL
ABOUT HAMILTON.*

To

The Hon^{ble} WILLIAM FRASER Esq^{re}

Governor of Fort St. George &^s Council.

No. 37.

GENTLEMAN,

I deliverd you a petition Just before I Saild from Yo^r Port concerning my Surgeon that I perceive wasent aboard Surgeon of the party of Souldiers that came on[] for this place (and assume the same) if it is Yo^r pleasure to confirm it my ships compa^y will all leave me at this port and I shall petition the same I have very often in writing satisfied y^e consequence of such proceedings and without a speedy Relief I fear a great disturbance may arise from my people's resentment then is at present apprehended. I pray yo^r Hon^r &^s will please to take this into consideration in order to prevent the misfortunes that appear on this occasion I am

Sherborne in Fort
ST. DAVID^s ROAD,
March 13th 1711

Hon^{ble} S^r &^s GENTLEMAN,
Your most obedient servant
HEN. CORNWELL.

* Copied from Vol. XII, Letters to Fort St. George, referred to as No. 450 in the Madras Pres List of 711 Records.

NOTE C. WILL OF WILLIAM HAMILTON.*

In the name of God, Amen. The twenty-seventh day of October, Anno Domini, 1717. I, William Hamilton, Chyrurgien, of Bengal in the Ea t Indian being of perfect memorie and remembrance considering the uncertainty of this transitory life do make and ordain this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following, *vis* :—

Imprimis, I bequeath my soul unto the hands of Almighty God my Maker, hoping through the meritorious death and passion of Jesus Christ my only Saviour and Redeemer to receive free pardon and forgiveness of all my sins. and as for my body to be burried in Christian buriall at the direction of my trustie hereafter mentioned.

Item I give, devise and bequeath unto my good friend Mr. James Williamson five hunder pounds

Item, I give to Mr. Edward Stephenson five hunder rupees and a diamond ring with twentie pound.

Item, I give to Mr. Baker a diamond ring with twentie pound.

Item, I give to Mr. Phillips a diamond ring with twentie pound.†

Item, I give and bequeath to the Church of Bengal one thousand rupees.

Item. I give, devise and bequeath unto my Honourable Father John Hamilton of Boogs living in the parish of Bothwell all sum and summs of monie, goods, chattles and effects whatsoever wherewith at the time of my decease I shall be possessed or invested or which shall then of right appertain unto me but in caice of his decease then I give and bequeath what is herein before given and bequeathed unto my said Father to be equally given among my brothe:s and sisters.

Item. I give and bequeath unto my cousin Mrs. Anna Hamilton, daughter of the deceased Robert Hamilton‡ of Wishaw in the parish of Cambusneather five hunder pounds. And I do hereby make nominate and appoint Mr. John Surman to be my trustie§ to whom I give my large diamond ring that I had given me by King Ferruckseer and likewise my culgie. This I do declare to be my last Will and testament revoking all other wills and deeds of gifts by me att any time heretofore made or given in witness whereof I have hereunto sett my hand and seal the day and year first above written.

Signed and sealed at Surugegura,

W. HAMILTON,

on board of the^e boates going for Bengal where no stampt paper is to be had in the presence of us

JOHN COCKBORNE.

JOHN STURT.

C. R. WILSON.

* Extracted from the Bengal Public Consultations for the 9th Dec 1717.

† James Williamson was third in the Cha'cutt Council when the will was made; Stephenson Barker and Phillips had been associated with Hamilton in the embassy.

‡ According to Anderson's Memoirs, pp. 23, 3, Robert Hamilton died before his father William of Wishaw who died at an advanced age in 1724 or 26. Robert married in 1688 Jean, eldest daughter of William Hamilton of Brownmuir in Ayrshire and left 4 sons, William, Robert, John, and James. Anderson does not mention the daughters.

§ John Surman was chief of the embassy. He returned to England in 1718.

ART. XI.—RELIGIOUS ASPIRATIONS OF THE EDUCATED HINDU.

THE Hindus claim for themselves the title of being the most religious people in the world. Religion, certainly, enters into the minutest affairs of their life, and regulates their food, their dress, their incomings and outgoings, their family life, and their relations to society in general. But ask the most brilliant graduate of any year of the Calcutta University to define the religion of the Hindus, and he will without hesitation admit that this is by far the most difficult problem ever given to him to solve. The Hindus differ from other communities in that, whilst these are known to the world as professing a particular faith, or as the followers of a particular individual, in Hinduism this element is conspicuous by its absence. The gods included within its pantheon are countless, the revelations are as voluminous as they are contradictory, with the result that each one pins his faith on the deity of his choice. This of necessity produces an amount of toleration, wanting in other religions, and the bigotry and exclusiveness we hear of is of caste, and not relating to any dogma of belief. In a Brahmin family of ten adults, of both sexes, one may be an atheist, another an agnostic, a third a silent believer in Christianity, and others followers of Vishnu, Siva and other deities, and yet live in place and harmony as members of a household. They may all discard the family god, without incurring the pains and penalties of apostates, but let one of them venture to eat publicly with a person whose religious views may be identical with his own, but who is of a lower caste, he will find himself put out from his community, and may be from his family. The bond that keeps the Hindus together is not one of religion, but of membership of a social organisation, for the regulation of which, clearly defined rules are laid down relating to even the trivial affairs of every-day life. Such was the material which had to bear the brunt not only of a western education and of a higher civilisation, but of a religion based on the noblest ideals, with the result that the faith of the educated classes in their antient creeds has crumbled into the dust, for it has led to the overthrow of gods and goddesses which for centuries had reigned supreme in India, whilst the efficacy of methods of salvation which the ingenuity of the Brahmin had devised with the sole end of promoting his ascendancy or feeding his greed, is appraised at his real value. Some found refuge in Christianity, but by far the bulk of this class was tossed to and fro from scepticism to Brahmoism, from agnosticism to atheism. But it

Is a curious fact that now so far as these classes are concerned, not only are Christianity and Brahmoism at a discount, but the various shades of belief founded on unbelief are also discountenanced, and Hinduism is again in the ascendant, or to be more precise a general feeling has been generated to carve out for themselves from their antient religion a faith which will satisfy their souls, and help them to maintain before the world their long acquired reputation as a religious people.

Christianity, I speak of it as affecting the higher classes reaped a splendid harvest on the first introduction of education in the English language, a scheme for which Dr. Alexander Duff was to a great extent responsible, and from which he very largely benefitted. To a man convicted of sin and who had lost faith in the saving power of his own religion, and who looked with abhorrence on some of the social observances of his community, there was no other alternative but to seek refuge within the Christian fold. There was of course the new cult of the Brahmos lately started by Rajah Ram Mohan Roy, but this was then not a new sect, but a Sabha or a prayer meeting of a number of men, who setting aside sectarian differences came together to worship and to pray to Him whom all sects recognise as the Creator and Ruler of the Universe. Ram Mohan Roy who was brought up in an atmosphere in which corruption, vice and debauchery sought each for an upper hand, took up the rôle of a reformer who would retain all that is good and true in Brahmanism and sweep away all that was corrupt and false, and though he took his stand against such doctrines as implied a faith in a multiplicity of gods, yet he was unable to separate himself from a religion or rather from a community so intimately associated with idolatry. He denounced caste, but was accompanied in his trip to England by a couple of Brahmin servants, so as to provide against the necessity of having to break caste. The venerable Debendro Nath Tagore who followed him also set his face against the worship of idols, but although he belonged to a family which for generations had been out of the pale of Hinduism, he had and has a sneaking regard for caste and a decided objection to inter-marriages. He introduced the Brahmo covenant which was signed by twenty persons, who have all disappeared, and his Samaj has no following outside the members of his family.

It is when we come to Keshub Chunder Sen that we find Brahmoism developed into a sect. He discarded caste with its attendant evils and advocated intermarriages and widow marriage, and thus cut himself adrift from the Hindu community. He surrendered the Vedas and the Upanishads and took a stand against all revelation, and at his Samaj, selections from the Bible, the Koran, the Zendavesta and the Hindu Shastras

were impartially read. The pretensions of the Brahmos at this time were pretty high, for the aim they had in view was the founding of the future Church of India. For a time they achieved most remarkable results, for Samajes were started all over the Bengal Presidency and even in Madras and Bombay, and there was a rapid increase in their adherents, who again were of a class the most intelligent and the most educated, whilst the number of their secret sympathisers was very large. The minds of the educated classes were entirely unsettled at this period, and their reluctance to take part in idolatry and superstitions ceremonies, or to give a public adhesion to beliefs in which they had no faith was as great as their unwillingness to isolate themselves, and cut themselves off not only from their own community, but from all that was near and dear to them, which was the result of the acceptance of Christianity. Brahmoism offered a compromise, a half way resting house, where, without adopting an alien faith, a Hindu could repudiate observances that were obnoxious to him. But the very force that brought it into existence has very nearly destroyed it. Education and enlightenment forced certain persons even at the cost of social ostracism to enter its ranks, so as to be emancipated from the thralldom of idolatry, superstition, and caste restrictions, but times are more advanced now, and sitting in his ancestral home, the educated Hindu is free to adopt as much or as little of Brahmoism as suits him, or to keep as much or as little of caste as he likes, so long as he does nothing to outrage public opinion. If however his heart craves for something higher and better, Brahmoism has nought it can give, for however much it may deny the fact, it appears in a garb which is undoubtedly borrowed. It rejects revelation, but has, practically accepted the Christian scriptures as its guide, and has drawn its moral precepts from them, copied its ritual and adopted its fundamental principles. Except as regards the divinity of Christ, in respect to which divers and contradictory and most mystifying opinions are held, the Brahmo may well be mistaken for a Christian. He lives like a Christian, acts like a Christian, discourses and prays like a Christian, reads his Bible like a Christian, but unnecessarily wastes a good deal of his energy in protesting that he is not a Christian. Theism or Unitarianism, or call it what you will, has been no more a success in India than it has been in England. It has nothing distinctively its own to offer its votaries, and when it comes to the Hindu and asks him to cut himself adrift from his community, it receives the cold shoulder. It is now a spent force, as is evidenced by the fact that, so far as the member of its adherents is concerned it is according to the last Census at a standstill, whilst other communities are advancing in a greater or lesser degree.

It is a curious fact that another offshoot from Hinduism, which took its rise somewhat later than Brahmoism, but has a good deal in common with it as regards the principles on which it is founded, is progressing by leaps and bounds, and within the last ten years had increased its numbers by 70 per cent., and has now a following of 67,105 members. The Arya Samaj was founded by Dayanand Saraswati who died in 1883, having for the previous twenty years wandered about Upper India as a Sanyasi (religious mendicant) preaching against idolatry, caste, infant marriage, pilgrimages, the domination of the priesthood, and the restraint on widow marriage, whilst he held up the Vedas as the only revelation and guide for mankind. Except that the Brahmos recognise no revelation, the other points also form part of their propaganda, and it is certainly curious that their progress should not be equally great. It is because they have the courage to carry into practise their convictions. By giving up caste they cut themselves off from the Hindu community, but the Aryas continue to remain within its fold, because though they loudly inveigh against caste and infant marriage, they look the courage to repudiate them in practise. Their crusade of destruction was very comprehensive in theory, but, as a matter of fact, it left Hinduism untouched in its most vital part, that is its social organisation. Not that the Arya is a *persona grata* with the orthodox Hindu who has tried many a time and employed many a device to be rid of him as an apostate, but he, not only metaphorically but sometimes literally, stands bludgeon in hand and challenges all and sundry to a deadly combat, and considering that his Samaj contains some of the most intelligent and highly-cultivated men from the educated classes, he generally comes off victorious. This bump of self-assertion on his part is most highly developed, and is impartially directed against the orthodox Hindu, the Mahomedan and the Christian. But probably it is this which constitutes his strength, for it has obliged him to create an organisation, which whilst it keeps the scattered units together enables him to carry on an extensive propaganda as a militant religion for bringing others to its fold. And has led him to initiate an elaborate scheme for the promotion of the temporal as well as the spiritual interests of the community. Education, and especially that of the weaker sex, is widely encouraged, orphanages have been opened out and the principle of co-operation extensively applied in starting banks, benefit societies, insurance companies and other commercial undertakings. But there seem to be indications that what has hitherto been a source of great strength may become to the Somaj the root of much mischief and danger, for the superabundant

energy of its members, in the absence of any contention with the outer world, finds vent in disputing with each other often on trivial matters, and as the Aryas are usually men of strong feelings and great earnestness their capacity for injuring each other and the cause in which they are interested seem to be unlimited.

But whilst the educated Hindu of Bengal ignores Brahmoism because of its inordinate capacity for destroying time-honored beliefs and customs, without offering in return anything that is distinctively its own, it is not to be supposed he is any the better disposed towards Christianity; from which there is much to be obtained, as it indicated by his own conduct in silently appropriating from it maxims and truths as a guide for his moral and spiritual life. At one time the general attitude towards the founder of this religion was one of uncompromising hostility as evidenced by the comparisons mostly unfavourable instituted between Him and the alleged incarnations of Hindu deities, but now the life and the work of Christ are not only spoken of with the greatest respect, but are freely utilised as illustrations of all that is pure and holy. And in another direction also a striking change is noticeable. The first effect of education was to destroy a student's faith in religion and lead him towards scepticism and atheism, but now there is a kind of revival of religious feeling, which is exhibited in a variety of ways, but is chiefly characterised by an intense longing for a loftier ideal of God and a purer ideal of morality. That this craving should find expression in a revival of Hinduism which had been weighed and found wanting is due to a curious combination of circumstances. For some time past the conviction had been gaining ground, that the new order of things wherein a young man roamed about at large without religion and sometimes without morality, was not conducive to his individual welfare or that of the community of which he was a member. Just about this time European scholars of renown, as also the Theosophists, began to bestow unstinted praise on Hinduism, and to impress the world with the fact that it contains principles upon which a religion pure and noble could easily be constructed. And if we add to this the growing feeling of nationality which is the mainspring of the conduct of the educated Hindu of to-day, urging him to look to his own country to satisfy all his requirements whether material or spiritual or social, we see clearly how it is that he resolved that this new religious force was to be evolved from Hinduism, battered and discredited though it be in its present form. Actuated with this feeling Young India launched himself before the world with an advertisement, "Wanted! a religion for the educated Hindu,

adapted to his intellectual attainments and not antagonistic with the present structure of society or repugnant to his feelings of patriotism!" The response received has been as prompt as it is varied in character. It has given an impetus to the Arya Samaj in the Punjab, and though in other parts of India within the last two decades, no great man has risen to found a new cult or a new sect, the inventive faculties and devotional instincts of many have been exercised in formulating certain articles of belief and certain forms of ritual intended to create or stimulate a religious fervour.

As may easily be surmised there is a complete absence of uniformity in this respect. The most incongruous creeds are fastened upon, and dogmas the most contradictory are believed in by one and the same person. Talk to an educated Hindu, and he will leave the impression on one individual that he is a Theosophist, on another that he is a Buddhist, on a third that he is a Vedantic Theist, on a fourth, a Vedantic Pantheist, and on a fifth that he is an Arya Samajist. The truth is, he is a jumble of all, for in the search of truth, or at least of anything that will satisfy his soul, he finds something in each that commends itself to his judgment, though taken as a whole these various sects, if I may so term them, are diametrically opposed to each other. The Hindu mind is restless and troubled, and has at present a vacuum which is ready to be filled in by anything decently presentable. Some there are who spend their lives in a state of suspended belief, others groping in the dark clutch at any straw that comes in their way. Orthodox Hinduism, the religion of their forefathers can afford no relief, for the belief multiplicity of gods, and the practice of degrading and superstitious ceremonies is an insult to their cultivated minds. The day education on Western methods was introduced in our schools and colleges, Hindu orthodoxy was doomed. And what has followed is, uncertainty, chaos and even worse. A pious Hindu writing to a Missionary made the following pathetic complaint. "Your scientific education has made our children irreligious, "atheistic, agnostic. They have lost all fixity of character, "You say you have given us light, but your light is worse "than darkness, We do not thank you for it. Better far "that our children should remain ignorant of your sciences, "but retain the simple faith of their ancestors than that they "should know all the *ologies* of the day, but turn their backs "upon religion and morality as mere rags and remnants of a "superstitious age. From all right-minded people there can "be but one response to that—*far better.*"

The door towards orthodox Hinduism being barred, something has to be found to replace it, and according to Rai Baha-

dur Baij Nath, the accomplished writer on Hinduism ancient and modern, the wisest and best intellects of the country are engaged in trying to solve this problem. Some recommend a return to purer forms of worship and the elimination from Hinduism of all accretion due to superstition or later innovation. The lives of the gods and heroes of the Hindu pantheon are being carefully scrutinised to find out which portion of them is based upon fact and truth, and which upon fiction, and how far they can furnish ideals for modern Indians to follow. Every year large numbers of Hindus meet in social and religious conferences to discuss their social and religious institutions with reference to the more authentic teachings of their religion, and a general revival of Hinduism is seen almost everywhere in India, threatening in some cases to slide back into superstitions which it is aiming to remove. A religious revival is by no means unknown in European countries but it is always connected with and promoted by the adherents of a particular sect who try to stimulate the flagging zeal of their followers by eloquent addresses and lectures or stirring appeals in writing. The object is to promote spirituality by depicting in glowing colours the evils of worldiness. But the dogmas of religion are never touched, nor is the faith of those who are the subject of this revival, shaken as regards them ever so slightly, or modified in any way. And it would indeed be considered a very curious revival if it had for its object the quest after suitable dogmas to be extracted out of a religion that taken as a whole had been condemned. But this is precisely what the Hindu revival is. It is a frenzied attempt on the part of honest and well-meaning men to carve out a new religion for themselves from the ruins of one which tottering with old age and decay now lies prostrate in the dust, as least so far as they are concerned.

In his search after a new religion no common, well-organised and united effort is made, but each one has his own particular theory or hobby which he rides to death. One goes in one direction and another in an opposite direction, without having the faintest idea whither they are bound, or why they have selected that particular road. I noticed the other day in a Calcutta Journal, edited by a Hindu, that there are plenty of young men to be found in the streets of Calcutta who are fully equipped with long hair and a pocket edition of the sacred Gita, of which in all probability they know no more than a few verses, who go about preaching a cult, the cardinal principle of which is to have a thorough contempt for everything Western and an equally thorough admiration for everything Hindu. This is a phase of Hindu revival which will be noticed further on, for perhaps its votaries are larger in

number than those of any other cult, or at all events have more to say for themselves than the others. Within the short compass of this article it would be impossible to make even a passing allusion to the various cults that have been started or of the individuals whose names they bear. The number of Swamis that have come into existence is wonderful and each has his own following, the number of which is in proportion to his reputed sanctity or learning or the fiery eloquence he possesses. What are the specific dogmas taught by each, and how far they differ from each other, life is too short to enable one to ascertain, and it would be a gross libel on the devoted followers of each of these leaders of religious thought, to charge them with having engaged in a long and painful process of inquiry and investigation, till at last they emerged triumphant with a full comprehension of the meaning of their teacher and of the drift of the doctrines preached by him. But probably the less a man knows or understands the doctrines and dogmas of his spiritual guide, the more devoted he is likely to be as a follower, and very possibly it is the recognition of this principle that leads these worthy gentlemen so to clothe their ideas as to defy a man of average intelligence to guess what they are aiming at, or to resort to the use of terms so abstruse and learned, and to expound doctrines so complicated that though reflecting much credit on their intellectual and inventive powers certainly leave their disciples in a state of extreme perplexity and doubt. That notwithstanding this each Swami has a devoted following is only proof of the fact that the educated Hindu is really in earnest in the quest of some creed, and that he is ready to snap at anything, whether he understands it or not, so long as it is preached and expounded by one of his own people.

But it is not only in Bengal that the minds of the educated classes are unsettled and they are found either rushing after a phantom, or holding views the incongruity of which is patent to all but the unfortunate individual concerned. *The Advocate* a tri-weekly Journal published in Lucknow is the exponent of Hindu thought in North India, and is edited by a man universally respected for his high character and freedom from cant.

In a recent article entitled "Incongruous Creeds" he depicts a picture of the intellectual Hindu which is as startling as it is amusing. "Every man," says he, "may be left to his own faith, but whatever else it may be, it should at least be definite and consistent. Let each man trust his own Inspiration, Reason, or any Light that may have been vouchsafed to him. But it is essential that he should know his own mind, that in fact he should have a faith, and not

“an incongruous jumble of Faiths. We are afraid we discover from many signs of the times, the growth of a class of men who talk much about religion, but who can have hardly any definite conviction. We do not refer to the very subtle inaccuracies, the slight unnoticed differences of a creed, or those unavoidable contradictions which appear in notions of Godhead and inhuman views of the ways of God to man. What we mean is that there are growing up amongst us men whose creed is a manifest jumble, who cherish, unconsciously no doubt contradictory ideas on the broadest of questions.” The writer then passes in review the Theosophist, the Buddhist, the Arya Samajist and the Vedantist, criticising each in turn and pointing out the inconsistencies of each. This is all very well and no doubt all very true, and only shows how easy it is to assume the rôle of a critic, but when we come to that portion of the article where he takes up the rôle of one who has a panacea ready at hand to provide against all these evils and which would wipe out all the blots in the religious attitude of the educated Hindu, he shows how ludicrously barren are his ideas, and that the man who gives up orthodox Hinduism is at his wit's end to discover something to substitute in place of it. “If the Hindu,” says the writer, “knows his own position, his sheet-anchor is not this or that book, nor this or that philosophy, nor this or that code of ethics, but the spiritual experiences of his co-religionists, of Sadhus in particular. There is never a firmer or more reliable basis than that of facts. It is the simple truth that there is an immense and ever-growing mass of spiritual facts, manifestations of the Divine Will, which prove conclusively that the Hindu is at least one of those who knows how to approach the deity and obtain his favour. There is no reason for him then to be chameleon-like in his professions of convictions, or to seek added dignity from fresh labels which can only confuse him and perplex others.” Here again is a jumble of words not very intelligible. Anyhow the world would certainly become a more lively place to live in than it is now, if each man were to select his own Sadhu (a religious devotee) for a guide and regulate his conduct by the experiences of this prototype. The annals of the Courts of Justice afford some very edifying reading of the character and conduct of these Sadhus, though no doubt there are some who lead a life free from reproach. But the spectacle of millions of people in search of an irreproachable Sadhu seems to be no more practicable or profitable than their setting at his feet to learn from his experiences how to shape their own line of conduct in this life, or make due preparation for the life that is to follow.

That orthodox Hinduism has had its day is now admitted at all hands, as also the fact that, the larger the number of the people that are being educated the greater will be the addition to those who now eschew the religion of their forefathers. That being so, what do the terms "Hindu Renaissance" or "Revival of Hinduism" mean, of which we hear so much as being countenanced by the educated classes. It may sound somewhat strange, but these terms have really a significance quite apart from the religious aspect of the question. When a person leaves the ranks of Hindu orthodoxy and pins his faith to Theosophy or Buddhism or Vedantism or any of the new cults which have sprung up, and which are really poles apart from conservative Hinduism, it is a contradiction in terms to say that he has gone in for a revival of the Hindu religion. He has really destroyed Hinduism properly so called and has put in its place something which is antagonistic to it. What then is this Hindu Renaissance and why is it so called? It is the name given to a feeling which has been generated of late to discard everything Western and return to everything Eastern, with certain very significant limitations. There were at one time two well-defined forces at work, the one was an intense admiration for everything European, which for a time carried all before it, but has now had to give way to the other and counteracting force, *viz.*, a predilection for everything Eastern, never mind, whether having regard to merit, it is to be preferred or not. And it would seem that thoughtful Hindus deprecate and deplore the one attitude just as much as the other, influenced as the one is by an unreasoning prejudice, and the other by a sudden accession of fanaticism. And here I will again let a Hindu writer speak for himself and his friends, so as to avoid the imputation which could easily be brought against an outsider of having misunderstood those with whom he may be supposed not to be in sympathy. In the *Bengalee* of Calcutta appeared sometime ago an excellent article entitled "Hindu Renaissance," and the writer after referring to the disorganised elements of Hindu social life, goes on to say :—

"The progress of English education, the advent of the materialistic thought of the West, had routed the antient Hindu religious and social ideas, and at one time in the very distant past, it was the fashion among our young men to profess a profound contempt for everything which was Hindu in its origin, and to profess an equally exaggerated admiration for everything which came from Europe. Both the contempt and the admiration were unreasoning. The young Hindus of those days could not adduce any reasons for either. They were drunk with the new ideas imported

“from the West, and in their inebriation, the respect due to the grand part of their race, the admiration due to the acute reasoning of the wise of old were lost sight of, and it became the fashion among them to speak with supercilious contempt of institutions and rites of the *rationale* of which they knew nothing, and could know nothing on account of their defective education. And in proportion to this contempt of everything Hindu was their admiration for everything European. After a time, however, came the reaction. And now we are running into the opposite extreme of admiring everything that is Hindu and of despising everything that is European. And our present admiration and our present contempt are equally unreasoning. It seems that we are not prepared to do anything by halves, and it is so because we cannot divest ourselves of a gross superstition which has almost become to us as a second nature. And if we are wise it is time for us to substitute for this superstition a calm and reasoning frame of mind which alone constitutes that tolerance which is the first essential towards real progress. The fermentation which we have spoken of as now happening in Hindu society is the result of these two conflicting forces of action and reaction, *viz.*, the past exaggerated admiration for everything European and the present equally exaggerated contempt. And this fermentation, this war of two contrary forces is best typified by what is called the revival of Hinduism, which is just now going on among us.”

Now how are we to account for this sudden and rapid change? Why is it, to use the words of Mr. Baij Nath quoted above, that the attention of the wisest and best intellects of the country has been suddenly directed towards examining the lives of the gods and heroes of the Hindu pantheon to the end that by a process of elimination it may be discovered how much or how little of the teaching of Hindu orthodoxy can be retained for the purpose of providing a new creed to the educated classes. No doubt the spectacle of Young India roaming about without religion and without the restraints depending thereon, exercised the minds of pious Hindus, and very possibly there are a good many who like the author of “Hinduism Antient and Modern,” believe that the Vedantic ideal of religion is based on a deep conviction that it has always been the religion of not only the hermit or the recluse, but of the wisest and the best men of India engaged in the busiest affairs of life, as well as of the wisest and the best of other countries also. But for all that, there are good grounds for the belief that the sudden popularity of Vedantism had its origin in, or at least that it was

materially furthered by the new-born idea, patriotism, which deprecated a resort to things foreign when a want could as well be supplied by things indigenous. It had become the fashion, once upon a time, for Indian ladies of the advanced school in Bengal to adopt European dress. The Ilbert Bill hurt their susceptibilities, and they discarded foreign attire as a protest to the unfairness and injustice to which, in their eyes, the Indian nation had been subjected. The Indian National Congress was similarly the outcome of a feeling that the foreign rulers did not possess an adequate knowledge of the wants and aspirations of the people, nor had they any sympathy for them. A wave of patriotic feeling seems to have swept over the people and influenced not only their social and national life but also their religious life. Why become converts to Christianity, and for the matter of that why join the Brahmos, when the effect of both was a total dissociation from the society of friends and relatives? Why not try to find out, nearer home, something that would satisfy either their souls or their intellect and prevent the breach in social and family life? Thus it was that the reaction set in to which reference has been made above, and everything European began to be tabooed. If the worship of the gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon was repellent, it was discovered, with satisfaction, that in the Vedas which are a portion of their sacred writings, there is inculcated a monotheism in comparison to which, its advisers say every other religion, no matter how spiritual, seems more or less idolatrous. It is true the Vedantic Philosophy was somewhat complicated and abstruse and far above the level of the average intellect, but what mattered that, when it could enable the educated Hindu to gratify his patriotism in that it formed part of the religion of the land which, in a fit of ill humour, he had condemned and rejected. That there was some extra pious reason, apart from the merits of the Vedas that obtained for them popular favour is evident from the fact that Rajah Ram Mohun Roy almost a century ago drew from them the ideal of an imperial deity and had hoped to lay on them a foundation of a new and purified religion for the Hindus, but signally failed in the attempt, for the orthodox section of the community looked askance at him, and Keshub Chunder Sen who succeeded him as a reformer practically denied to these ancient writings the status of revealed scriptures. In fact they were more or less neglected, till the patriotic graduate incensed with, or disappointed with things European, turned to them again as a last resource. And this change of attitude culminated in the latter days of the last century in the curious spectacle of Maharajahs and

Rajahs walking with bare feet in the streets of Delhi whilst the Vedas were being carried in procession with a great deal of pomp and ceremonial.

Granted that the Vedas now hold a pre-eminent place in the estimation of the educated Hindu and are a lamp for his eyes and a guide to his feet, it would nevertheless be a mistake to suppose that the general tenor of his life has been materially effected thereby. There is a great deal more talk about the transcendental merit of these antient writings, than any attempt made to follow the precepts to be found therein. The very same individual who is ready to pin his faith in the Vedas, which are strictly monotheistic in their tendency, will sometimes be found doing reverence to the incarnations of the deity found in later writings. At all events he will raise no objection to the members of his family believing anything and everything they please and will wink at the practice of the most superstitious rites and ceremonies for which no sanction is given in the book of his choice. It furnishes him with certain articles of faith to which he accords a mental assent, and there the matter ends, but his every-day life is regulated by rules which are utterly antagonistic to the precepts found therein. With the Hindus the social life is intimately associated with the religious life, but though the earlier Vedas are clear in their teaching as regards caste, infant marriage, widow-marriage and such like, absolutely no heed is paid to this, and the Vedantist is as abject a slave as his orthodox brother to customs, which he is ready to admit, are most objectionable accretions to the purity and the simplicity of the religious and social practices of the antient Aryans. If in defiance of the rules of popular Hinduism he eats forbidden food or eats in the company of those outside his caste, he does so more with the object of gratifying his animal nature, than with any desire to conform to habits which find sanction in the Vedas. For the self-same individual will sit calmly by and see his friend and neighbour outcasted for having crossed the seas in the pursuit of education, though during his absence he may have avoided animal food and spirituous drinks altogether.

In Mr. Baij Nath we have an ardent Vedantist and a most active social reformer; he has besides spent six months in travelling in Europe. He admits caste was unknown in ancient India, he deplores the evils that it gives rise to in modern India, and he longs for a return "to the golden age when there was no caste and when everybody was a Brahmana with asceticism and knowledge of truth for his sole duties." But what is his own contribution towards the return to this golden age? Is it to solemnly impress upon the educated

classes the desirability of breaking down the barriers which separate one caste from another, and to enforce these precepts by his personal example of association and sympathy with those outside his own community? Nothing like it, for the utmost he can say, and the furthest he can go, is to advise "a beginning in the shape of a gradual fusion of such of the minor divisions of a caste as admit of such a fusion." Whilst District Judge of Gorakhpore he was a guest at a public entertainment on the occasion of the opening of a branch railway to Benares, and according to a pre-arranged plan he put in an appearance just when the speeches commenced, and with much difficulty was persuaded to accept a bottle of lemonade. But the absurdity of this proceeding was manifested in that he had as his next neighbour another District Judge, and of a higher caste than himself, who is neither an ardent social reformer, nor has devoted his energies in writing panegyrics on Vedantism, and who had heartily partaken of the good things that were provided. Here we have two different types of men, the one rejoicing in a new-born faith and newly-acquired principles, most excellent in themselves, but lacking the courage to put these principles into practice; the other disgusted with the objectionable customs with which Hindu social life is hedged in at present, and quietly discarding them without making any special fuss about the principles that led him to do so. The man who professes most is not the man who practises most. He means to be honest and straightforward, but his good intentions are choked by circumstances over which he has no control. He is afraid to hurt the susceptibilities of his friends or to break away from them altogether, which in many instances would be the result of his carrying his principles into practice. Of a like nature is his attitude as regards other social questions. The Vedas assign to women a position higher than they hold at present, for in ancient times they were treated not as inferior but equal to men. Early marriage receives no sanction therein, nor was there any restriction placed on widow marriage. But the most devoted and pious of Hindu revivalists, who have discovered a priceless treasure in the Vedas, will not so much as move their finger to discountenance or minimise what they admit are evils, but which they confess by their actions, if not in words that they are powerless to contend against.

What then is the sum total of the Hindu revival which is the result of the religious aspirations of the educated classes of to-day? To put it concisely, a belief in a multiplicity of gods is discountenanced, and the practice of rites and ceremonies more or less superstitious is condemned. As a necessary corollary the bulk of the Hindu scriptures, and with some

the whole of them, are denied the position of inspired writings, And for this has been substituted something which it would be difficult to describe, for it may literally be said there are no persons, to be found anywhere holding identical views. So far, however, we are certain that the Hindu revival has not taken away a much valued privilege that was allowed to its votaries by orthodox Hinduism, and that is a considerable latitude as to what they were to believe or not to believe. If therefore I were to give to the new faith, substituted for the old, the name of Vedantism or Neo-Hinduism I feel I would be doing no injustice to the other cults which, called by other names, have a following of their own but in a greater or lesser degree have the Vedas as their basis. And indeed neither Vedantism nor Neo-Hinduism represent any particular faith which can be strictly and rigidly defined as made up of any particular dogmas. The other day on seeking some information on this subject from one whom I reckoned as an authority, I was curtly informed I might speak to a hundred persons who call themselves Vedantists and find they differed from each other on material points, and as to Neo-Hinduism it might mean anything or nothing. I am afraid there is considerable truth in this somewhat frank and comprehensive statement. But this at any rate is clear that one of the prominent features of this revival is a substitution of monotheism for polytheism. Now so far as the monotheism of the Vedantist is concerned it is not an easy thing to understand, for we find him paying homage to a deity which he himself admits is incapable of definition. He, it is said, is best described by a negation of qualities rather than by the possession of certain well-known attributes. He is without form and is the most abstract of entities, and withal the essence of all things—the Infinite wisdom and Infinite bliss. And as to the world it is all illusion. The fact is that, the Vedanta is not a religion but a philosophy and is not only incomprehensible to the ordinary mind, but, however much it may flatter the intellect of the person who thinks he understands it, will never satisfy the craving of his heart. His heart craves for sympathy for fellowship, for love such as a father shows his son; and for a direct response to his appeal whether it be for daily bread, relief from affliction, or a mastery over temptation. But of all this the Vedantic god has nought to give. Vedantism is a religion admirably suited for the Yogi who has retired from the world and abjured its pomps and vanities, and cut off the hundred and one ties which draw him towards it. It cannot be a religion for those who are in the world and of it. It will not do to call the world an illusion and yet be engaged in a feverish struggle, for wealth and honor and the pleasures

of life. Then again the religion of the Vedanta in its ideal transcendentalism is not for the uncultured and the unthinking, and millions of men who are unable to grasp its intricacies will have to do without it. Finally where Vedantism signally fails as a religion is in the absence of any scheme for the moral redemption of mankind. It practically divorces action from belief, and fails to touch the conscience of mankind. Has an individual obtained a correct conception of duty, if so he is a true Vedantist, never mind, whether he regulates or not his daily life according to what his conscience tells him is the right thing to do. As Sir Alfred Lyall, who is much in sympathy with the higher Hinduism, remarks, "Salvation comes not by righteousness, but by knowledge; not by the casting out of sin, though there is a longing to be delivered from it, but by emerging out of ignorance."

Such is the newly-acquired faith of the Hindu. That, in its way it has exercised an influence for good on the educated classes cannot be denied. It has turned the tide of irreligion, agnosticism and atheism, and has checked the utter demoralisation that was attendant thereon. I am assured, by those who may be credited with possessing the most reliable information on the subject, that the educated young man of to-day is more serious and steady in his behaviour, more moral, and more spiritually-minded than that of a preceding generation, when religion of any kind was at a discount. Probably the estimate is correct, but the question arises whether this newly-acquired faith possesses such intrinsic merits as are likely to ensure its permanence and progress. The foregoing remarks seem to afford ground for great doubt in this respect, and the probability is that the good sense and intelligence of the educated classes will in course of time lead them to entertain a similar opinion.

ALFRED NUNDY.

ART. XII.—A TRAINING-SHIP INSTITUTION.

NEARLY four years ago a young lad, belonging to the domiciled community appealed to me for help to get him into a situation whereby he could earn his living. He was sixteen years of age, well built, well mannered, and fairly well educated for his years. In the course of conversation I happened to ask if he would not care to go to sea as an apprentice. He said he would be delighted to do so, but when he tried to get a ship he had been told that being only a d——d half-caste, he would have to ship on the same footing as a lascar, or not at all. His rejection, for this reason, took place at the Calcutta Shipping Office, when a Commander willing to ship the boy, had taken him for the purpose of signing articles. On making enquiry I found the statement of the lad to be quite correct. The authorities at the Shipping Office read the provisions of the Merchant Marine Act as prohibiting lads of the domiciled community, however well qualified they might be otherwise, from being shipped on the same footing as British apprentices.

Knowing that great complaints were being made at home regarding the dearth of boys for the sea, and that the President of the Board of Trade had stated, in a speech, that the scarcity of British seamen was getting to be so acute, that in the event of a Naval War, he was afraid our merchant vessels would have to be entirely manned by foreigners, I ventured to send to him a statement of how the case stood here. Then, briefly, what happened was this: the Board of Trade communicated with the India Office; the India Office communicated with the Government of India, and then His Excellency the Viceroy sent down the papers to the Bengal Government and asked for a report on the whole question. After realising the situation, Lord Curzon quickly put matters right by declaring that the local authorities had been misinterpreting the Act, and by ordering, that henceforth no barrier should be raised against any Eurasian,* otherwise qualified, from being shipped on board a merchant vessel on the same footing as British sailors. This took place about two years ago, and since the door has been opened to this class of employment an increasing number of the men and lads belonging to the domiciled community are availing themselves of the opportunity of going to sea.

I may mention with reference to the boy spoken of at the beginning of this paper, that a kindly American Captain allowed him to go on board his vessel as a stowaway, with instruc-

* I use the word "Eurasian" in this paper in no other sense than in its very convenient and strictly ethnological significance.

tions to make his appearance on deck after the vessel got clear of her pilot. The boy proved a most useful fellow during the voyage. On his arrival at New York, he shipped on board a United States battle-ship, went through the Spanish-American wars with credit, and when last I heard of him, he was a leading gunner on board a cruiser.

In the belief that plenty more raw material, like this lad, existed amongst the Eurasian poor and only needed a little kindly fostering care and training to fit them for being useful to themselves and to their country, instead of growing up to swell the ranks of loafdom, already too full, a provisional Committee was formed to consider the question (not for the first time) of promoting a Training-Ship Institution for the Hughli where the homeless and destitute boys of the Eurasian class could get their feet planted on the first rung of the ladder up which they could climb into useful citizenship. The Committee had several interviews with the late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir John Woodburn, on the subject. He was warmly sympathetic in favour of any practicable scheme that could be formulated, and he asked that the proposals of the Committee should be placed before his Government in an official manner. This was done in May last year. The Memorial related the history of all the previous efforts that had been made towards providing a sea-training for the destitute lads referred to, from the time, in 1827, when the Calcutta Apprenticing Society purchased a vessel as a Marine School for the boys, then designated Indo-Britons, up to the time of the present movement. The vessel of 1827 proved to be a bad speculation. She was old and unsound and had to be sold in the following year for Rs. 4,000. The younger boys were sent to the Orphan and Free Schools, and the older ones were provided for on board the pilot and other vessels of the port. The Report of the Apprenticing Society of the time says that of all the schemes tried for the purpose of helping the lads, *the Marine School was the one that seemed likely to answer*. Since 1827, and at various intervals, the Training Vessel Scheme has been brought before the notice of the Government. In 1891 "The Pauperism Committee" nominated by the Government considered amongst other question. "*What openings for the employment of poor Whites and Eurasians can be enlarged, what new ones developed, and what present disabilities can be wholly or partially removed.*"

That Committee submitted in their Report a scheme for a training-ship, but Sir Charles Elliott, then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, after consultation with experienced men connected with the shipping trade and also with the Port Officer, came to the conclusion that it was doubtful whether employment could subsequently be found for the boys after they had received

their training, and so he vetoed the scheme, but added, in his resolution, on the subject, "It must be confessed that the outlook does not seem very promising, but if the training can be cheaply given, *it might be worth while to try the experiment.*" The lapse of a dozen years has entirely changed the aspect of affairs. The embargo has been taken off, and the lads, if willing and otherwise qualified, are now free to ship as British apprentices.

The late President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, Sir Montagu Turner, gave his unqualified approval to the scheme, and the present President is heartily in favour of any feasible plan that can be devised for helping the lads to get an uplift in life. The Conservator of the Port, and the Merchant Shipping Commanders frequenting Calcutta, also expressed their approval of a Training-Ship Institution. The scheme put before the Government of Bengal in the Memorial was modelled after the numerous Institutions of a similar nature, now riding in British waters. It was proposed that an old battle-ship should be obtained from the British Admiralty, and that the vessel should be fitted up and furnished for, say, four hundred boys, by money obtained through public subscription; that the Government should give a capitation grant for each boy similar to the sum which the Home Government give annually for each lad on board the Training-Ships in British rivers, the balance required for the upkeep of the vessel being defrayed by public subscription in India. The Institution was to be managed by a large and representative Committee taken from high official, professional and commercial circles, all subject to the control of the Government. The capitation grant suggested was Rs. 180 per boy per annum, as against Rs. 234 which the Government pay at home. Two of the Committee went to London and interviewed the First Lord of the Admiralty on the subject. Lord Selborne was most cordial and sympathetic. He said there was plenty of employment ready for the boys, and suggested that they should be trained for filling the artisan posts on board the war ships. He wanted armourers, blacksmiths, carpenters, coopers, painters, plumbers, sailmakers, shipwrights, stockers, domestics, ships stewards and members of other crafts required on board the ships. This suggestion of his Lordship was cordially accepted by the deputation. He likewise promised that we would get an old battle-ship on the easiest terms on which any similar vessel had ever been given, whenever a responsible Committee were ready to receive it. This meant practically a free gift, for it was ascertained that the "Mars" had been given *as a loan*, some thirty years ago to the Dundee Training-Ship Institution, and she has been there, as a loan, ever since.

When the deputation were in London the reply of the Bengal Government to the Memorial of the provisional Committee was received. In brief while earnestly sympathising with the object aimed at the reply went on to state that the money consideration alone—the large annual grant suggested—would prevent the Government from entertaining the idea of a Training-Vessel on the Hughli, but His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, the late Sir John Woodburn, suggested as an alternative scheme, that the Committee should direct their efforts to see if it would not be possible to get selected boys sent home to some of the Training-Vessels already in existence—a plan which he thought would, in the end, be very much better for the lads themselves, as on board of a ship in British waters and in a temperate climate, a boy would receive a better training, and, at the same time, be endowed with a better physical outfit, than he would be likely to receive on board a ship in the Hughli, and in a tropical climate. His Honor hinted that if such a plan as he suggested were put into operation, the Government would not be slow to lend a helping hand. Acting on Sir John Woodburn's suggestion, the deputation in London, interviewed the Head of the Navy Recruiting Department and the Marine Society. They then separated, in order to save time, and to cover as much ground as possible, and individually visited some of the Training-Vessels around the British coasts. The result has been to entirely confirm the wisdom of the suggestion of the late Lieutenant-Governor and the Committee are now formulating a scheme for sending, as an experimental measure, a number of selected boys home to one of the Training-Ships whose Captain has cheerfully undertaken to see that the lads will receive every fairplay and attention during their training time, and every encouragement to make the most of their opportunities.

There are about 90,000 persons belonging to the domiciled community in India, and the poor amongst them have, up to recent times, received much less consideration at the hands of their European kith and kin in the way of kindly help and educational facilities, than have been provided by Missionary societies for what they term the "heathen" in India. A better state of things has now sprung into existence. The various societies throughout India, into which the members of the domiciled community have organised themselves, are awake with life, and the Association in Calcutta already shows a good record of work done in helping the poor belonging to their own order.

The splendid work commenced at Kalimpong by the Rev. J. A. Graham, in connection with the Colonial Homes, is another example of the living interest that is being taken in

the orphaned and the destitute children among the Eurasian poor, nor must I omit to mention the American Methodist Episcopal Missionaries as being in the forefront of those religious bodies who are caring for the highest well being of the class referred to.

The Eurasians in India deserve well at the hands of the Government and of the Europeans in the Empire. The qualities of character which we sometimes deplore amongst them are largely the result of long hereditary surroundings, and would gradually disappear under better environments. It has long been a puzzle to the Government of India what to do with the Eurasian poor and how to provide them with suitable means of earning their livelihood. As a modest contribution towards the solution of the problem, we propose opening the door to allow the suitable amongst the poor boys being sent to Training Ships at home to be turned out into well-equipped artisans or sailors, according to preference.

A disciplinary training of the kind proposed would improve the stamina of the body and all else within it, and put the lad in the way of being a credit to himself and his country. The Government have already hinted that they are willing to do their part when the scheme is matured.

This paper is written in the hope that the public will not be slow to provide whatever else may be required to make the first experiment a complete success.

JAMES LUKE.

ART. XIII.—THE MUD-BANKS OFF THE MALABAR COAST.

THE unusually heavy floods last year on the West Coast caused by the almost unprecedented S. W. monsoon rains have wrought an amount of havoc which is simply appalling. Not to speak of the several lives swept away, the value of property lost, in crops, cattle, houses and timber, amounts to "over a lakh of rupees." All this but represents the devastation on *terra firma*. On the sea adjoining, the ravages of the monsoon have even been worse. In addition to storms, cyclones and other meteorological disturbances which are common enough, it has produced a disaster of much more serious significance—far more intense and lasting in effects, in fact, than all the abovementioned put together. I refer to the recent shifting of the mud-bank off Alleppey in the Native State of Travancore.

The mud-bank is a curious phenomenon of nature peculiar to this land of curiosities—the West Coast of the South Indian peninsula, and its value lies in ensuring in the heaviest of monsoons, safe harbours of refuge for ships on the open coast. It is a characteristic shoal-bank consisting of a kind of soft, unctuous mud which rises from the bottom of the sea and, dispersing itself in the water, effectually stills the raging surf and presents, irrespective of the weather all the year round, a safe roadstead called "mud-bay" by the pioneers of commerce on this coast. There are four such banks as yet discovered, doing duty for harbours, so to speak, off Quilandy, Calicut, Narakal and Alleppey which have enabled,—in the absence of natural harbours and in spite of the exceptionally squally seas on this coast in the monsoon season,—foreigners to visit Malabar and export her products to the West, at least from the times of Solomon onwards. Likewise, tradition says, Vasco Da Gama who has given, to Calicut the distinction of being the first Indian port visited by modern European nations owed the protection of his fleet through the monsoon of 1498 to the bank in the Quilandy offing.

Alleppey known always as the premier port in the prosperous State of Travancore owes its reputation chiefly to the never-failing shipping facilities afforded by the mud-bank of from 6 to 9 feet which extended until a few days back, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles off shore, $9^{\circ} 29' 48''$ N. Lat. and $76^{\circ} 18' 44''$ E. Long. During the monsoon while the surf broke boisterously on the shore to the north and the sea outside raged white with foam, Alleppey presented an expanse of smooth water in the outer

rim of which ships could conveniently ride and load and discharge cargo in $4\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms with much less risk than at any other point on this coast. Sometimes when the monsoon rendered the port of Cochin unapproachable the difficulty could be got over by the vessel touching and unloading at Alleppey which enjoys inshore water-communication with the former place. In consequence Alleppey has always carried on a very considerable trade in teakwood, pepper, coir and betel-nut. Recently, however, the mud-bank which hitherto held out all the advantages of an excellent harbour and made this port so very attractive to shipping and thus helped in building it up into an emporium, one of the oldest in this part of the world, appears to have, partially, at all events, shifted to about twelve miles south near a village called Puracand. Thus Nature has snatched off one of the best advantages with which she had endowed Alleppey, with the inevitable result that the town is now face to face with a south-ward diversion of its trade, and its time-honoured commercial eminence stands doomed—at least for the time being. I take care to add the qualifying phrase, seeing that quite possibly the operation of natural forces similar to those which have now carried off the mud-bank may, at some future time, move it back to its original site and leave Alleppey *in statu quo ante*. Speculation apart, the occurrence in question is certainly a serious economic disaster to this unfortunate town and indirectly to Travancore.

The nature of the phenomenon connected with the appearance, disappearance and shifting of these mud-banks is a subject which has not, as yet, been exhaustively investigated and the question may be regarded as still *sub-judice*.

The mud-banks are formed, it is said, by the action of submarine volcanic forces which throw up, from the bottom of the sea, the unctuous mud of which these banks are composed. Mr. Crawford who was, for some time, Agent to the Travancore Sircar at Alleppey, however, gives a different explanation thereof. He is of opinion that subterranean passages or streams communicating with some rivers and backwaters become more active after heavy rains and carry off into the sea the accumulating water and, with it, vast quantities of the subjacent soft mud forced out by hydraulic pressure. The two theories might, at the first blush, appear contradictory of each other, but on a closer examination the difference will be found to be nothing more than that which arose with reference to the shield in the fable. In the light of the data available it may be safely stated that the mud-bank owes its substance partly to the play of volcanic energy and partly to the washings of rivers and backwaters.

That the mud of which the mud-bank is composed is

primarily volcanic in origin is an undoubted fact. Dr. Day in his "Land of the Perùmals" describes it thus:—"The mud feels unctuous and sticky. . . . It is of a very dark greenish colour and has but a slight odour. Under the microscope it shows very minute angular fragments of quartz, the largest hardly visible without a lens: this is the sand. *Secondly*,—*foraminiferous* shells of the genus *rotalia* and a few fragments of larger shells. *Thirdly*,—*diatomaceæ* of which were discovered species from upwards of twenty genera. *Fourthly*,—a few spicules of sponges and corals very minute; and some amorphous matter which was not destroyed after long boiling in strong acids. An examination into its composition resulted in the discovery of sixty-two species belonging to thirty genera of the class *cryptogamia* and sub-group *diatomæ*." He also goes on to ascribe its surf-stilling virtue to the spring-like action of its pressure-resisting component particles—a surmise which may be dismissed as "not proven." The true explanation of the process by which the mud "pours oil on troubled waters" is certainly that given by Dr W. King of the Madras Geological Survey in a paper prepared in 1884 wherein he has established that the mud contains "a sensible amount of oil" derived from the decomposition of organisms and from the distillation of oil in subjacent lignitiferous deposits belonging presumably to Warkilli strata, the distillation being due to heat arising from a line of volcanic energy possibly lying "parallel to the West Coast of India." The presence of the oil in the mud is conclusive of its volcanic origin, and the fact that in certain cases this mud is brought into the sea by water-currents does not affect the correctness of this theory. Apart from this fact, there is another kindred phenomenon of the sea, locally known as "Neer" or "Kêd Vellam" (lit. 'fetid water') to which the hypothesis of hydraulic pressure is, as will be presently seen, obviously inapplicable.

Sometimes the West Coast sea and backwaters have been observed to exhibit occasional patches of dark, stinking water of varying dimensions, exhaling very offensive effluvia and leaving a deposit of dark-coloured mud of the same nature as the substance of the mud-banks. Fishes of all kinds may be seen floating dead and dying on the water and brought up by the waves from Davy Jones' locker on to the beach, to which fact the peculiar stench is, perhaps to some extent, due. The phenomenon is akin to the one above described and both appear to have a common geological origin. "Kêd Vellam" has been known to occur in all parts of the year, even in the non-monsoon months of November and December, and under circumstances which

upset Mr. Crawford's suggestion that the peculiar mud which gives rise to these puzzling occurrences is always derived from subterranean passages which become "more active after heavy rains, particularly at the commencement of the monsoon" and enter the sea. All the above facts point to the conclusion that while the mud which manifests itself in "Kêd Vellam" and "mud bay" is, in some cases, produced by explosion caused by submarine volcanic energy and, in others, forced out by the pressure of water in backwaters, the presence of oil in the mud is always due to volcanic distillation.

On the other hand it must be borne in mind that Mr. Crawford has had exceptional opportunities of studying the phenomenon *in situ*, and his conclusions based on personal observations are certainly correct *as far as they go*. But they do not appear to have gone far enough, and, in consequence, the theory is *imperfect*. That the mud-bank is connected with the monsoon rains is a proved fact. In the course of his boring operations carried on somewhere east of the beach at Alleppey he seems to have struck, at a depth of about 60 feet, a stratum of mud stromatologically identical with that thrown up in the sea. He appears to have also noticed, about the mud-bank bubbles of this kind of soapy mud above the water, embodying *debris* of vegetable matter decayed, and in some cases, even fresh and green which must certainly have come into the sea through water-currents in the way suggested. The higher water-level caused by the accumulation of water during the monsoon season in the back-water, over that of the outside sea and the existence of subterranean connecting channels through which the mud is forced out by the water-pressure into the sea, account for the accretions to the bank, and hence its greater efficiency as a calming agent during the rains. It is interesting to note that the same monsoon that thus nourishes these mud-banks proves, occasionally, an unnatural foster-mother. Sometimes the S. W. monsoon freshes develop an overwhelming plexus of currents and cross-currents which breach or shift these banks and at times even break them up altogether. Thus during the monsoon of 1793 the bank off Quilandy was broken through, and the East India Company's vessel, *Morning Star* which was lying under its protection came to grief in consequence. The Alleppey mud-bank itself, it is recorded, suffered in a like manner in the heavy seas of 1882, and the latest instance in point is its removal, on the opening of the current monsoon to the southward above referred to, this direction being determined by the prevailing littoral current, on the coast, which, it is well known, is from north to south.

The foregoing account of the mud-bank off Alleppey—and *mutatis mutandis*, it applies to other banks as well—presup-

poses the existence on this coast, of underground volcanoes or heat-foci as well as of a stratum of mud forming the substance of the bank and containing oil derived from lignitiferous deposits, and this hypothesis rests on various evidences of a convincing character. I have already referred to Dr. King's conclusion that there is a line of volcanic energy "lying parallel to the West Coast"—a conclusion based on his "enlarged experience" of the region, and the sporadic appearance of the phenomenon of fetid water above described, in the sea and inland waters from Cannanore to Cape Comorin goes to show that the volcanic range extends very much further afield. Tradition says that the whole valley of the Western Ghats—the "Kerala" of Puranic fame—was reclaimed from the sea and modern researches point to the occurrence of a volcanic upheaval, an act of God quite suggestive of the tradition as in the highest degree probable. The unctuous mud stratum itself of volcanic origin also stretches far and wide. About the middle of last century the Government of Madras constructed a canal to connect the two rivers, Kadalundi and Ponnani in South Malabar, but the cutting had to be abandoned by reason of a bed of this mud which was found a little below the surface and which continually oozed into the canal and rendered it impracticable for boats. Two years ago I was myself present at the deepening of a well at Madayi—14 miles to the north of Cannanore—whose *sthala mahatmyam* (chronicles of local legends) speaks of a geological upheaval, and the boring revealed, at a depth of nearly 20 feet, a stratum of unctuous lignite, embedding rusty iron nails and immediately underlying a bed of hard laterite, and I have also observed, not far from this well, several puddles of a kind of characteristic fetid mud not improbably connected with the phenomenon of "Kêd Vellam."

Observations of kindred phenomena made outside the region also bear out the view that submarine volcanic heat while giving rise to geological disturbances, disengages the oil from organic deposits where they are present, and thereby calms the sea. From a descriptive account of the recent earthquake at Bunder Abbas it appears the shock was preceded by a rumbling sound proceeding from the direction of the Island of Kishm, and the sea became at the time "as still as a pond." The remarkable "soft place" of navigators covering the area lying between the equator and 9° North Latitude and extending from Ceylon to Socotra has, it is well-known, a glassy appearance in the height of the monsoon. The phenomenon has not been exhaustively investigated, but the fact that, according to tradition which there is every reason to believe to be well founded, the tract has witnessed the submergence of a continent which once stood there, seems to show that the cause of the quiescence is

the unspent activity of the volcanic range which is said to have, ages ago, produced the catastrophe.' Is it not evident that the process of working out the calm in these cases, though far more extensive, is precisely similar in kind to that of the mud bay ?

The recent disruption of the Alleppey mud-bank calls attention to the susceptibility of the banks in general to the vicissitudes of the monsoon and other meteorological conditions, and the question seems well worth considering whether it is not possible to provide against the danger of these banks—the sheet-anchor of the immemorial sea-borne trade of the Malabar Coast—being dissolved or floated away without warning. Unfortunately the subject has not received that amount of attention which its importance certainly demands. But it is scarcely necessary to say that it behoves every one who has the economic interests of the country at heart to put forth efforts towards an exhaustive enquiry into the appearance and characteristics of the phenomenon found in no other part of the world, so as to turn one of Nature's rarest gifts to the best possible account—an enquiry which promises results full of scientific interest and practical importance.

A. KRISHNA PODUVAL, B A.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

Report on the Trade of Bengal, with Nepal, Thibet, Sikkim and Bhutan 1901-1902.

Report on the Trade carried by Rail and River in Bengal, 1901-1902.

Report on the Trade of Bengal by River and of Calcutta by all Routes 1900-1901 (all three compiled by the Director-General of Statistics).

OF the river-borne merchandise of Bengal, naturally the canals and waterways round Calcutta, bear the heaviest burden. In 1901, 41 lakhs of maunds out of the total of 59 lakhs in all Bengal belonging to Calcutta by boats—by steamer by far the largest portion of the trade was from or to Calcutta. The imports into Calcutta represent the convergence of the products of the country into the chief sea port for shipment overseas, and the exports from Calcutta the distribution inland of goods received from overseas, excepting in both cases the fraction consumed within the city. The statistics of the trade on the Nadia rivers, the Midnapore, Hijili, Kendrapara and the Orissa Coast Canals, represent the total trade carried up and down those channels; the portion of that trade which finds its way into Calcutta by boat and steamer is registered again at the cordon of stations around the city and by the Inland Steamer Companies. The Jalangi is the most important trade route on the Nadia rivers; the principal articles carried down being food-grains, jute, oilseeds and tobacco-leaf to Calcutta, and raw silk from Malda to Murshidabad. The chief upward trade was in salt, Kerosene oil, rice and sugar. There was an increase in the trade in coal, owing to a larger demand in the silk filatures in the Murshidabad, Malda, and Rajshahi districts. Notwithstanding the opening of the Bengal-Nagpore Railway, both the downward and the upward trade on the Midnapore Canal increased, mainly owing to a larger trade in unhusked rice, which in its turn was due to the failure of the rice crops in that part of the Hooghly district commanded by the canal. There was a remarkable increase in the downward trade in stone and lime. On the Hijili Canal which serves Midnapore, Cuttack, Balasore, and Calcutta the slight diminution of the trade is attributed to indifferent crops and the diversion to the railway of the trade of the Central Provinces, although Bengal and Assam are

now connected by railway, the greater portion of the trade between the two Provinces is still carried by river. The imports from Assam in 1901 were double the exports to that Province. The principal imports from Assam were tea, stone, lime, rape and mustard seed, jute and husked rice to Calcutta, unhusked rice and timber to Dacca, coal to Dacca and Eastern Bengal. The exports to Assam were European cotton piece-goods, metals, mustard and rape oil, grain and pulse, salt, refined sugar, iron and steel. During 1901 there was an increase of $33\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in the trade of Calcutta carried by inland steamers, and a small increase in the rail-borne trade, but that by boat and road fell off. The weight carried by rail in 1901 represented 64·6 per cent. of the whole; that by boat was about $\frac{1}{5}$, by steamer $\frac{1}{10}$, and by road little more than 6 per cent. The trade which is moved by steam whether rail or river steamer is progressive while other trade does not seem to increase, although it must be expected that there will always be a considerable boat traffic in a country covered by such a network of water ways as this Province. Animals are chiefly imported into Bengal by river; they come principally from such a distance as the United Provinces, and though time would be greatly saved by the railway, the animals themselves probably suffer less and cost less when river-borne. Coal is sent chiefly by rail and so are cotton, foodstuffs (except rice), gunny-bags, and metal. The articles imported into and exported from Calcutta in the internal trade indicate the character of the city as a great commercial and industrial centre. In the main, the imports consist of food-grains and other articles required either for export by sea to foreign countries or for the supply of local factories or raw material needed for both purposes—such as jute, coal and cotton—supplemented by the food stuffs needed for a population of not less than a million souls. The exports again consist of articles imported from foreign countries for distribution throughout North-Eastern India or made in the local factories, gunny-bags being prominent here. The imports and exports of gold are quite trifling, nor is the trade in silver bullion large except for imports by rail from Bombay. The inflow and outflow of rupees are however extremely large, the imports in 1898-1901 being 1,044 lakhs, the exports 2,021 lakhs. "It should not, however," says the Director-General of Statistics, "be assumed that such a vast excess of exports of rupees represents normal conditions. Two out of the three years were seasons of drought and famine, with prices of food-grains ranging at an abnormally high level. While the traffic in them was also abnormally active, great stocks being directed to the centres of distress—and these factors operated to greatly

increase the demand for rupees in the districts whence the food-grains were moved. It is probable that in the three years following 1900-1901 it will be found that the conditions of the import and export of rupees in the internal trade will have been materially modified."

The trade of Bengal with Nepal is far the largest on the frontier, representing practically $\frac{9}{10}$ of the whole. The imports of food-grains from the Terai fell off, in consequence of the partial failure of the crops and high price in Nepal, and of the prohibition of exports owing to apprehended scarcity in the State. There was an improvement in the trade of all the other important imports, namely, cattle, jute, hides and skins and oilseeds. There was a small increase in the export of cotton yarn and woven goods. The trade with Thibet exhibited some improvement. The conditions which limit trade with that country continue unmodified in any appreciable degree. With Sikkim and Bhutan the trade is still on a very restricted scale: but trade with Sikkim has been passing unregistered through an unrecognised route and a new registration station has been established in Darjeeling since April 1902. There has been an increase in the trade with Bhutan due to the development of the importation of oranges—"a suggestive illustration of the creation of trade by the facilities offered for transport by the construction of railways.

Forest Administration in the Lower Provinces of Bengal, 1900-1901 and 1901-1902.

Forest Administration in the Central, Oudh, and School Circles of the United Provinces, 1901-1902.

THE Forest area in Bengal is 13,579 square miles as against 11,292 square miles in the Circles of the United Provinces of the above Report. Considerably more expenditure has been incurred in Bengal on demarcation work, Rs. 15,464 as against Rs. 1,329 in the United Provinces. The chief work in Bengal has been in the Chittagong Division. The average cost per mile of boundary cleared and repaired varies considerably in different places, being Rs. 9-8-5 in Buxa, Rs. 4-2-11 in Darjeeling, and Rs. 1-15-5 in Singhbhum.

No survey operations have been carried out during the year in the United Provinces, but in Bengal the Singhbhum Division, including the Porahat Range, was surveyed by Mr Ewing, who completed the 4-inch detail survey and began the survey of the protected forests, while a small detachment under Babu Odey Ram completed the 4-inch detail of the Koderma Reserved and Protected Forests of Hazaribagh. Progress was slow in this district owing to the mica mines that had to be

surveyed. The total cost in Bengal was Rs. 22,786, of which only 70 per cent. is charged to the Forest Department, the remainder being debited to Topographical Survey. Existing maps were brought up to date in the Darjeeling Division. It appears that 1902 was the ninth year of the plan in force for the Sundarbans Forests, and the Divisional Officer reports that some improvement was made towards preventing the felling of Sundri poles and fuel, by prohibiting the issue of permits for those products at stations within these circles, "a precaution," Mr. J. H. Lace remarks, "which should have been taken long ago." "From enquiries made on the spot" the conservator proceeds, he is "convinced that the restrictions placed by the working plan on the size of the Sundri timber that may be felled have never been fully enforced, and that so much undersized timber has been removed as to seriously impair the stock of the future in the coupes hitherto worked, particularly as the rate of growth of the Sundri appears from the data collected to have been considerably over-estimated by the Working-Plans Officer. The result during the past nine years has been an undue inflation of the revenue at the expense of the future, and a serious drop in receipts may be anticipated during the next felling-period for which the existing plan comes under revision during the current year." In Bundelkhand it was decided some years ago that in the forest area of 303 square miles the forests were not sufficiently valuable to require a working-plan, but as they are being worked to a certain extent, a rough working scheme will have to be devised for them.

The total expenditure on roads and paths was Rs. 22,874 in Bengal as against Rs. 19,485 in the preceding year—that in the United Provinces to Rs. 6,369. In the latter provinces, the repairs cost some Rs. 3,000 more this year, owing to heavy floods which obliterated large portions of the roads in the valleys, and also to the improvement of the main roads by extraction of boulders and gravelling the surface.

The section "Protection of Forests from Injury" shows that the total number of cases taken into court was 322 less in Bengal than in the preceding year. A decrease had occurred under all heads, that under "Injury by Fire" being 29 cases. The percentage of undetected cases was 27. The offences are chiefly injury by fire, and illicit felling and grazing. As a rule most of the cases are of a petty nature. In Jalpaiguri a large amount of illicit buffalo grazing takes place, partly by animals belonging to graziers living in Bhutan; compensation is exacted at the rate of Rs. 2 per head. The area damaged by fire was greater; the most serious case was in the Raman-dag reserve. The success attained in the prevention of fires

in the Saitba block is attributed to the fact that the setting fire to the forest by villagers entails the closure of the burnt tract to the exercise of their privileges, and to the fact that the removal of firewood is restricted to fixed areas. Of 72 fires, 18 are ascribed to intentional firing, 30 to carelessness or accident; 15 entered the forest by crossing fire-lines.

In his section on the "Improvement of Forest Growth" the Conservator remarks that he is much struck by the general adequacy of natural reproduction of the more valuable species and the insufficiency of the steps taken to assist that reproduction in the Terai, the Duars, and Sal areas situated in the lower hills. "The benefit derived from fire-protection is remarkable. In the Buxa Division there are large areas of what must once have been fine forests of *Dalbergia Sissoo*, but which owing to constant firing have been reduced to a sea of grass and scattered trees. Much money has been spent in the past on the artificial cultivation of species foreign to the whole or certain portions of the country, and with very poor results. With a multitude of indigenous species in the forests producing excellent timber, fuel, and even rubber, it will be well for the Department to direct most attention to the encouragement of the valuable native species, and to spend money on such work rather than on the cultivation of exotics."

Creeper-cutting has been conducted with considerable energy in the Kurseong forests during the past few years and with incalculable benefit. In the Buxa forests except on high well-drained soil, nearly every Sal tree is embraced by one or more gigantic creepers, which have killed great numbers of poles and seriously interfered with the growth of older trees.

An interesting experiment is being tried at Tahsiding. A method believed to be Chinese of producing rubber plants consists in removing a small ring of bark from a living branch, and binding wet moss round the wound. The branches thus treated throw out numerous roots at the top of the wound, and are then cut off and planted. It is too soon yet to judge of the success of the method.

Tigers are reported to have killed 112 persons in the Bengal forests as against 60 last year and the Sunderbans are responsible for 86 in 1902.

In the United Provinces an experiment was made in tapping *chir* trees for resin in the Kumaun Division, with a view to ascertaining whether resin would exude in the winter months in the lower forests: 1,000 trees were tapped but the resin did not begin to flow till March and then only in the hotter localities. The greatest amount was obtained in June. "Very little resin was obtained from trees over 6 feet in girth, which the Divisional Officer thinks is due to maltreatment of the trees

when young. The average of all the trees is 1·8 seer per tree, the cost of extraction Rs. 5 per madnd."

Annual Report of the Sibpur Experimental Farm. 1901-1902. Report on the Cawnpore and other Experiment Stations in the United Provinces. 1901-02.

THE Cawnpore Farm is senior to that at Sibpur, the one being, some twenty-one years old, the other only fifteen. It consists of 51·33 acres, while that at Sibpur is only 27 acres in area. The Professor of the Civil Engineering College who is in charge of the Sibpur Farm remarks that the area is too small for practical experiments. In the Sibpur Report, particulars of present employment are given of the twenty-eight students who have passed out. Three are employed as Farm Overseers under Government, and three under Zamindars. Two former students have been made Overseers of the Sibpur Farm, and the Professor, N. G. Mukerjee, has found them efficient and useful. Since the extension of the course to two years, the numbers of the students have fallen off. A Sibpur College Journal in Bengali has been started, with one of the senior agricultural students as editor. Dr Leather in submitting an analysis of the soil to Government observed that the Farm is situated out of reach of the general cultivating classes, and it would seem desirable to avoid any further expense on it. Experiments made on the spacing of sugar-cane showed that "for both seed purposes and ordinary agricultural purposes, sugar-cane should be planted in lines not less than six feet apart." Experiments were also made on the drought-resisting power of various paddies. At Cawnpore various manurial experiments have been tried on wheat, sugar-cane and potatoes. Other experiments have been made in the reclamation of barren land by tree-planting, and by the removal of alkali by subsoil drainage or by scraping.

Investigation have been carried on regarding wheat rusts: the conclusion to which the Director of Land Records and Agriculture (Mr. W. H. Moreland) comes is that "every attempt so far to treat the soil, the seed, or the growing crop has failed to give satisfactory results, and the only chance appears to consist in being able to raise rust-resisting varieties of wheat." During the past year the systematic study of the insect-pests found on the Cawnpore Farm has been begun. Attempts have been made to find the eggs of the sugar-cane borer, but without success. A good deal if not all of the injury in the early stages is due, says Mr. Moreland, to the sowing of infected cuttings in which the borer is overlooked. The borer begins to pupate in March, and in about two weeks the moth appears.

These are in time to lay eggs and affect the young sugar-cane. There are apparently two or more generations during summer. The maize plants are attacked when young, and in some cases killed. The larvæ pupate in the stalk or inside the leaf sheath, and the second generation appear to attack the plant higher up. Some moths kept in captivity have laid eggs (200 by one moth): these will be hatched out, and, if possible, reared and the number of generations studied.

Annual Report on the Government Cinchona Plantation (Bengal, 1901-1902. (Major D. Prain, M.B., I.M.S.)

Annual Report of the Royal Botanic Garden, Calcutta. 1901-02. (Major D. Prain, M.B., I.M.S.)

INVESTIGATIONS at the Royal Botanic Gardens have been made during the year into the history of the dye-yielding *Indigofera*s. It appears that the *Indigofera* now grown in India is not, as is usually supposed, *Indigofera Tintoria* or Indian Indigo, at all, but is really an exotic, from Malabar or Malaya. This is of importance from the fact that objections have been raised to the East African *Indigofera* on the ground that it was an exotic. It was recorded in the last Annual Report that during the excessive floods of September 1900 this East African Indigo came by no harm when all the Indian and American kinds were practically destroyed. In 1901, the experimental plots were attacked by an insect blight which destroyed all save a few plants of every Asiatic and American *Indigofera* under cultivation without in the least affecting the East African species.

Paspalum dilatatum has received attention during the year: the difficulties regarding its cultivation in Bengal have been successfully overcome. In S. India it is found that its drought-resisting qualities as displayed in Australia have not been over-estimated, but in N India it is stated that though an excellent fodder-grass where irrigation is available, it is as a drought-resisting species decidedly inferior to some well-known native grasses.

Arrangements have been made with the Department of Agriculture, Western Australia, to introduce into that colony the different varieties of Indian oranges. The greatest number of specimens contributed during the year from private sources are from a lady, Mrs. A. S. Bell, Banda.

The Government cinchona plantation in Sikkim now numbers nearly three million living trees. The issues of sulphate of quinine for the year amounted to 3,670 lbs. 4 oz. The principal Veterinary Officer, South Africa, indented for 300 lbs. of *Cinchona* Febrifuge. The approximate profit of

the Department for the year was Rs. 12,783. The quantity issued to the Jail Department fell off by 1,500 lbs. No explanation of this falling off has been received from the Departments concerned.

Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of Western India for the year ending 30th June 1902.

IN the classification of monuments for conservation purposes the following is the rule adopted by Mr. Henry Cousens, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, who is the writer of the Report before us:—

- (I). Those monuments which from their present condition and historical or archæological value ought to be maintained in permanent good repair.
- (II). Those monuments which it is now only possible or desirable to save from further decay by such minor measures as the eradication of vegetation, the exclusion of water from the walls, and the like.
- (III). Those monuments which from their advanced stage of decay, or comparative unimportance, it is impossible or unnecessary to preserve.

This Report really consists of a journey of inspection through the southern part of Berar, taking Akolâ as a convenient centre from which to start work.

Some idea of the work done may be gathered from the description of Mr. Cousens' visit to Bârsi Tâkli, Sirpur and Lonâr, with its craters and series of temples.

The first place visited from Akolâ was Bârsi Tâkli, 12 miles south-east. Here, to the south-east of the town and on its out-skirts, is the compact little black-stone temple of Bhavânî. It consists of a shrine and *mandapa* or hall, both being freely decorated upon the exterior with bands of mouldings and figures. The *mandapa* is curiously arranged with regard to the shrine, being attached as it were sideways to it, the open side of the *mandapa* with its entrance being on one side or at right angles to the doorway of the shrine. The plan of the *mandapa* is rectangular while that of the shrine is star-shaped. Four decorated pillars support the central ceiling of the hall. The principal figures around the outside of the temple, excepting Ganapati, are females, Mahâkâli and Mahishâsuramardani occupying important positions. The temple is not free from indecent figures. The ceiling is particularly well decorated, the marginal panels being very much like those in a temple at Balsâne in Khandesh.

The temple is not in regular use and we found no one living on the spot save a filthy half-demented old man who had taken up his lodgings in the temple and was cooking inside the *mandapa*. The place is very dirty and requires to be thoroughly cleaned out (*not white-washed*) and no one should be allowed to live in it. The accumulated earth around the basement should be cleared away, and a certain space around properly levelled. Round the back of the temple the villagers have converted the place into a latrine, and rank vegetation comes almost up to the walls.

The *sikharas* of both *mandapa* and shrine have disappeared and the roof is covered with long grass.

Within the temple, engraved upon the back wall, is a long Sanskrit inscription, which is, unfortunately, very much damaged by the peeling of the surface of the stone. It is dated Saka 1098 (A.D. 1176), which, from its style, seems to be the date of the construction of the temple.

Sirpur is 12 miles west by north of Bâsim. A short distance outside the village, on the west, stands the old temple of Antariksha Pârsvanâtha belonging to the Digambara Jaina community. At present their principal temple is a very modern one in the village, but this was the original temple from which there is a tradition of the image having been transferred probably about the time of the Muhammadan invasion of this part of the country. In the new temple they have the usual underground chambers in which to conceal their images in the event of a repetition of the treatment they once received at the iconoclasts' hands. The old temple has an abraded inscription above the east doorway to one side with a date which seems to read Samvat 1334 (A.D. 1406), and the name Antariksha Pârsvanâtha. The plan of the shrine is star-shaped and the walls are decorated with bands of arabesque, no images being carved except in the three principal niches, and these were loose and detachable if necessary. If they did exist they have been removed. The temple gives one the impression of being unfinished, and the date of its erection must be quite a hundred years earlier than the date of the inscription. Like the temple at Pur, this one was probably being built at the time of the early Muhammadan invasion of the Dakhan, when the building was stopped and it was left in an unfinished state. In 1406, when the fresh iconoclastic zeal of the conquerors had subsided into the tolerance of the rulers, the temple was taken in hand again and the image of Pârsvanâtha Antariksha was installed. Interference with the shrine during the contentions between the rival Muhammadan powers of the Dakhan may have necessitated its final abandonment,

and the erection of a temple in the heart of the village provided with its underground cells. This probably happened when they were adding the hybrid style brick *sikhara*, which again was left unfinished.

There can be little doubt that the people of the Dakhan had heard long before their arrival in their midst of the terrible destruction meted out to Hindu temples by the image smashers of Northern India. It is possible that this is the reason why the Hindu temple builders of this period introduced this new form of decoration for the exteriors of their temples—bands of arabesque and plain mouldings in place of the profusion of images which formerly prevailed, so that there should be nothing outside to excite the fanatical feelings of this new enemy of idolatry?

The entrance doorway of the hall is elaborately carved and here we have images, but they would have been covered and hidden by the porch in front had it been completed. Standing on either side of the doorway are nude Jaina figures. Over the lintel, upon the dedicatory block, is a small seated Jina. In the shrine are now two small marble Jinās, neither of them being Pārsvanātha. They are much neglected and receive little attention.

Lonār lies 12 miles south by west of Mehkar. In the village is the old temple of Daitya-Sûdana, a Vaishnava temple, so called on account of its connection with the story of the demon Lavanāsura or Lonāsura who used to dwell in the crater close by, and who was eventually slain by Vishnu in the incarnation of Daitya-Sûdana. The temple measures 105 feet long by 84½ feet broad, it faces east, and is built of black stone profusely carved all over the exterior with images and other ornament. The work, however, is comparatively late, and this is seen in the inferior workmanship of the images, the style of the bands of moulding, particularly those in the basement, and an indiscriminate spreading of ornament over every available surface. The building, too, seems never to have been finished. The roof and some parts of the tops of the walls, with the tops of the three door-ways of the hall, were never completed. There is a total absence of sculptured stones from these parts lying about; some fragments would surely have remained, had the building been finished and subsequently ruined. The unfinished portions are in stepped out horizontal courses as left by the builders. The four great pillars to support the intended dome together with part of the inside masonry lining of the walls were never erected; but at a very much later date the building was again taken in hand and finished off in a rough and ready manner, with

coarse brick-work, and brick arching was thrown over the unfinished tops of the three door-ways. The moulded base-ments for three porches before the door-ways were laid, but the porches were never finished. It is probable that this temple, like that at Pûr, was being built when the Mahomedans first overran this part of the country about the end of the 13th or beginning of the 14th century. They stopped the work, dispersed the workmen, and mutilated the images. Whether the original image for the shrine was ready at that time or not is uncertain, most probably not. When the temple was taken in hand, and the brick-work was added, a modern and very poor image of Vishnu, said to have been brought from Nagpur at great cost, was set up in the shrine, and this is now the object of worship.

Occupying the principal niche on the back of the temple outside is a standing image of Sûrya; as this is the position always of the leading image on the exterior of the temple, and has direct connection with the image in the shrine, it is just possible that the temple may have been intended as a shrine of Sûrya. Of the two other chief niches, that on the south has an image of a *devi*, but which it is almost impossible to say, owing to its mutilation. The north niche is empty. One of the side shrines of the modern temple at the head of the descent to the lake, where the tank and *gaumukha* are, contains some old loose images of Sûrya and Narasimha. They have been brought here from elsewhere, probably from the big temple. The three niches mentioned are very salient features upon this temple. They project from the face of the wall a great deal more than usual, so much so that they almost look like miniature porches. The basement mouldings of the temple support and follow these projections. Amongst the images on the exterior, there are Vishnu, Narasimha, Varaha, Ganapati, Brahma, Bhairava, Sarasvatî, the regents of the eight points of the compass in their respective positions, Parasurama, Râma and Kâliya-mardana.

We come now to the crater and its temples. At a short distance to the west of the town is what is supposed to be the crater of an extinct volcano, the only one known of in the Dakhan. It is a great bowl-shaped hollow, five miles round at the top, and about three miles five hundred feet below, where a salt lake occupies the centre surrounded by a wide margin of land between its edge and the foot of the circular slope of the walls of the crater. The walls which differ in nothing from ordinary hillside covered with jungle and grass, slope down from the upper rim at an abrupt angle of from 75° to 80° to the level belt around the lake. In the outer ring of this belt tamarind and date palms thrive, while the

inner nearest the lake supports the babul tree only, but nearly all the latter had been cut down leaving but their stumps. On the northern margin of the lake, where this belt of land is much wider, are kitchen gardens and fruit-trees watered by the stream which descends from the *gaumukha* above. The water of the lake is impregnated with salt which is extracted and sold as a marketable produce for use in washing and dyeing cloth. Although the lake is so impregnated with this salt, which causes it to give off an offensive smell, yet in a well sunk quite close to its edge on the south side, the water is perfectly fresh and is used for drinking purposes.

Down in the crater, around the margin of the lake are a number of old temples of sorts, 16 in number, and there are others in the descent to the lake from the *gaumukha* temple. From this temple down to the lake extends a ravine which is the only break in the continuity of circular walls of the crater, and it is down the sides of this cleft that the pathway leads to the bottom. The head of the ravine bifurcates near the top, and it is at the head of the western branch that the spring is located from which the water is led through a *gaumnkha* or cow's mouth into a small square tank in which Hindu pilgrims of both sexes, old and young, bathe promiscuously. The water is supposed to come from the Ganges, in proof of which it is said that a marked stick thrown into that river was found to emerge at the spring! A temple and an accumulation of other cell shrines, all of more or less modern growth, have sprung up around the tank. The Mahomedans had the audacity to trench upon this snuggery of the Hindus. They actually began to build a mosque right in their midst, upon the western side of the sacred tank, but were eventually stopped in their rash venture and warned off.

This is a most interesting Report to the antiquarian, and Mr. Cousens incidentally mentions that this tour through Berar has enabled him to complete the collection of material for a volume he has in hand in the temples of the Dakhan, and which is already partly written out and which we shall be glad to welcome.

The Agricultural Ledger (Vegetable Product Series). 1901—No. 14. (Index.) 1902. Nos. 1, 4, 5, 6 and 7. 1903. No. 1. Edited by the Reporter on Economic Products to the Government of India.

THE objects of the Agricultural Ledger according to its own statement are to provide information connected with agriculture or with economic products in a form which

will admit of its ready transfer to ledgers and to secure the maintenance of uniform ledgers on the plan of the Dictionary of Economic Products in all offices in India, besides facilitating the circulation of economic information and of all papers of interest. .

No. 1 of 1902 deals with Indian Tanning Materials. (Mr. D. Hooper, F. C. S.) During the Indian and Colonial Exhibition of London, 1886, a conference examined new Indian Tanning Materials. In 1899 another conference was held in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, between the Inspector-General of Forests and the Reporter on Economic Products, when it was proposed to institute a systematic enquiry into the matter. This number of the Agricultural Ledger gives the last results obtained of the chemical analysis, and the actual trade value of the ordinary raw tanning materials and the solid extracts prepared from them. The forests of India are rich in barks and fruits capable of being more extensively used in tanning.

No. 4 of 1902 is a popular account of arsenic as it occurs in India, by Sir George Watt. It gives the vernacular names for White Arsenic, Orpiment and Realgar. The chief localities in which Arsenic is found in India are Munsiri in Kumaon, Chitral and Upper Burma. Arsenic has been imported from Burma and China from the earliest times. There is an extensive consumption of the various forms of arsenic in the industries of India. White arsenic is used medicinally, and also in preparing skins for export. It is the form most usually employed for criminal purposes, "cholera of the white arsenic kind" being familiar to readers of Kipling. In 1899, out of 915 cases investigated the poison was arsenic in 382 cases. It is most frequently used in the Punjab, Orpiment (a sulphide of arsenic, known as Yellow Arsenic) is a pigment and dye, an essential ingredient in the manufacture of shellac, is the poison of insect proof paper, the chief ingredient in insecticide powders, gives the blue flame in fireworks, and is an ingredient in nearly all depilatories. Recently it has become of fresh interest, as a poison for locusts, since when dissolved by boiling in an alkali, it may be used very diluted so as to be quite harmless to the higher forms of life but very fatal to locusts. It is sweetened with sugar sprinkled on fragments of straw, which is strewn over the fields invaded by the insects. The first to die are eaten and in turn poison their cannibal fellows. So that a comparatively small quantity does large execution. Realgar (another sulphide, known as Red Arsenic) is a pigment and is also used in pyrotechny.

No. 5 Alkalis by Sir George Watt, C.I.E., and No. 6

Aeschynomene Aspera (the Sola-pith Plant) are equally interesting, even to the lay reader.* We quote one or two paragraphs.

"All over India shells are burned for lime. Away in the interior of the country wherever annual inundation occurs, a marvellous crop of exceptionally large land shells furnishes an abundant supply for most local necessities, for example at Murshidábád. On the coast tracts of India and Burma, immense beds of marine shells and raised coral reefs are met with. These are regularly utilised as sources of lime, and in South India have mainly given rise to the prosperous industry of Portland Cement manufacture—an industry that I understand is likely to be very shortly organised near the mouth of the Ganges, where rich beds of marine shells are abundant. So strict are some Hindus, that they will not use for their *pán* the lime obtained from shells, on the ground that it is derived from animals. "The *Aeschynomene Aspera* of Linnæus is the Shola of Hindustani—a word corrupted into Solar by English manufacturers of the topis made of it. It is a floating bush with sensitive leaves found on land annually inundated or in the margins of tanks. If left until the seeds mature the stem becomes dry, shrinks, and leaves a large cavern along the centre. In Bengal and Assam the workers in pith belong as a rule to the Hindu caste of garland-makers, the Malis. The stems are cut into lengths of two or three feet and tied into bundles. They are stored till dry, the brown bark is removed, and the pith if intended for hats is split into thin sheets. For this purpose the stem is held in front of the operator and with a sharp thin knife is stripped spirally. To perform this feat expeditiously requires great skill. Hats are worked up on wooden or clay moulds, and if honestly made are built up layer upon layer of sola sheets, pasted one on the top of the other. By dishonest makers a large proportion of paper is intermixed with the pith, thus adding greatly to the weight of the hat and lessening very materially its insulating power—the property which makes the sola-topi superior to hats made of felt, cork, or any other material. In Assam the idols of Monosa, the snake goddess, are made of sola-pith, and in some parts of Bengal both Hindus and Muhammadans during the month of August worship a sola-pith idol." In this last particular they might claim as brothers the globe trotter who appears at Calcutta garden parties in December in his sola-topi.

1902 No. 7 deals with the "*Asphodelus Ternnifolius*," an Indian Famine Food (Mr. A. Ghose). It is excessively common in North India, loves sandy soils, and the plant and

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seeds are eaten in famine time. The plant is very mucilaginous and something like an onion. It belongs to the Liliaceæ. The bulbs when ground give a greasy black paste. The analysis shows 25 per cent. of albuminoids and 25 per cent. of oil, 17 per cent. of carbohydrates, proportions showing considerable nutritive powers. Medicinally like onions and squills it is a diuretic. (1). The seeds show no trace of alkaloids. (2) The present report on it is in response to a request from the Officiating Reporter on Economic Products to the Government of India.

1903 *No. 1* on "Camellia Thea" and the Principles of Tea Pruning is by Sir George Watt and Mr. Harold H. Mann, M.Sc., F.I.C., F.L.S., Scientific Officer to the Indian Tea Association. The writers hold that pruning is the most important operation in the tea garden during the whole season and attribute to its absence the deterioration of tea gardens and hence of the lack of permanence of tea properties. With regard to the method of pruning, they express the opinion that it says much for the hardy nature of the tea-plant that such essentially different methods seem to give very good results. They suggest, however, that some very good results are obtained *in spite of* a bad system of pruning.

These little manuals are highly interesting, and most practically useful, besides being in a very handy form. They can be obtained from the office of the Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, and are arranged in different series—the Veterinary, Forest, Mineral, Vegetable Series, etc. It might be useful if a list of the various Series were printed on the last page of each number.

Financial and Commercial Statistics of British India. Compiled by the Director-General of Statistics. (Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, pages 441.)

A NEW section has been added to the Annual Report of 1902, consisting of a page which records the rates of steamer freights *via* the Suez Canal from Calcutta and Bombay to London from 1871 to 1902. The great progressive decrease may be seen by comparing the rates of the census years:—

From Calcutta (per ton).

	Rice.		Wheat.		Jute.		Linseed		Tea.	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
1871	4	5 0	4	5 0	4	5 0	4	15 0	5	2 6
1881	2	5 0	2	5 0	2	7 6	2	10 0	2	15 0
1891	1	12 6	1	12 6	1	15 0	1	15 0	2	10 0
1901	1	0 0	1	0 0	1	2 6	1	2 6	1	15 0

From Bombay (per ton).					
Wheat & Seeds.			Cotton (to Liverpool).		
£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1	10	0	2	7	6
		(1872)			
1	5	0	1	15	0
1	2	6	1	3	9
0	14	0	0	14	0

The section on Inventions and Designs has an interesting column showing an increase in the number of natives making applications to file specifications of inventions though the number is still small—22 in 1892, 46 in 1901,—whereas that of Anglo-Indians, and of persons not resident in India remains fairly constant. The total income derived from fees under the Inventions and Designs Act of 1888 was Rs. 15,705 in 1892, and had risen to Rs. 45,100 in 1901.

The Emigration Section shows that between 1878 and 1901 360,549 persons left India, of whom only 153,062 returned including children, presumably including those born during the parents' stay out of India. Apparently therefore 207,487 did not return, and really a number larger by the number of children born during the exile. The chief destinations of emigrants in order of popularity were Demerara (94,000), Natal (68,000), Trinidad 56,000, Mauritius (34,000), Mombasa (33,000), Fiji (22,000), French West India Islands (22,000—no emigrants since 1884), Dutch Guiana (17,000), Jamaica (8,000). By far the largest number ship from Calcutta; from Madras they only ship for Mauritius and Natal; from Bombay to Mombasa and Seychelles; from Karachi to Mombasa. The greater portion of the emigrants are drawn from the United Provinces, Bihar and North Arcot coming next.

The Section on Wrecks shows a very gratifying decrease in the numbers of lives lost.

	British Vessels	British Indian Vessels.	Native Craft.	Lives.
1876	23	8	11	407
1886	10	54	23	66
1896	6	27	16	151
1901	3	51	14	18

The apparent increase of wrecks of British Indian vessels is probably a real decrease owing to the increased numbers afloat. Does the apparent decrease of wrecks of British vessels point to a decrease of the numbers afloat? Sailing ships (British) show a great decrease of wrecks due it may be supposed to their decreasing numbers. The British

Indian vessels lost are nearly entirely all sailing ships. It would be interesting if next year this point were elucidated by the Director-General of Statistics, it is difficult to make it out from a comparison of the Section on Wrecks with that on the Number and Tonnage of Steam and Sailing Vessels entered or cleared for foreign trade. (Section XXX.)

The section on large industries shows in most mill-industries : the number of mills and of persons employed were as follows :—

	1891.		1900.	
	Numbers.	Employés.	Numbers.	Employés.
Cotton Mills ...	396	18,842	813	49,630
Dairy Farms ...	...	...	78	697
Dye Works ...	...	...	9	799
Flour Mills ...	52	1,172	101	2,554
Ice Factories ...	31	634	53	827
Indigo Factories ...	5,726	84,162	5,145	240,333
Iron and Brass Foundries ..	83	9,816	124	17,585
Mineral Water Factories ...	76	315	554	2,393
Oil Mills ...	69	1,651	212	5,084
Tanneries ...	44	3,094	202	6,200
Distilleries ...	..	...	36	1,277

Tobacco-farms, Indigo factories, Bone-crushing mills and Coffee Works are the only industries which show a decrease, or in any case remain stationary. Distilleries, dye works, and dairy farms, chemical works, fish-curing yards, gas works, hemp presses, printing presses and woollen weaving establishments not classed as mills do not appear in the column of 1891, and well represented in 1900.

Section XIV on Paper Currency shows that the number of Rs. 10 notes in circulation was nearly 5 times as great in 1902 as in 1875: the other notes have about doubled, except the Rs. 100 which has almost trebled, and the Rs. 10,000 note which has increased from 597 to 7,728.

The nett imports of gold have much increased, exceeding already in the seven years of the decade beginning 1895 the total for the preceding decade. In 1900-01 alone the total imported was 11,89,80,197; but the amount exported that year nearly equalled that imported, leaving the nett import much less than usual.

The Summary of Contents shows that of Joint Stock Companies registered 64 per cent. have been failures, a considerable number of "provident" associations formed in Bengal amongst the number.

The great bulk of Savings Bank Deposits is made by natives of India, the balances of Europeans and Eurasians being

Rs. 1,11,22,861, and these of natives Rs. 8,93,09,708 at the end of 1900-01. The largest amount was invested in Bengal, though Bombay nearly equals it with a population only one-third as great.

The Post Office Section records a fact which reflects the greatest credit on that department, that its business is carried on over 92,960 miles worked by boats, mail-carts, horses, camels, and runners to only 38,661 miles worked by trains and steamers—the number of packages delivered in 1900-01 amounted to 532 millions. Value-payable post though only introduced in 1877, gave a value declared for realisation of Rs. 3,42,00,000 in 1900-01. The insurance fee is $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., and the gross sum for which articles were insured in 1900-01 was Rs. 9,55,30,000. Since 1884 British postal orders have been sold at Indian Post Offices. It seems desirable that these orders should be realisable in South Africa since the recent influx of English people into that country. The annual subsidy paid by Government to the P. & O. Company for the Combined Eastern and Australian Mail Services is £330,000. The Indian share of this subsidy has not yet been determined.

Report of the Honorary Committee for the Management of the Zoological Garden, Calcutta, for the year 1901-1902.

THE Calcutta Zoo is one of the most carefully and tastefully kept of any Zoological Garden we know of, and from an experience of many years residence in Calcutta, we can testify to its continued attractiveness.

During the year 1901-1902 Rai Bahadur Camaleshwar Prasad Singh of Monghyr has given to the Garden Rs. 4,000, Babu Ramanath Ghose, Zamindar, Rs. 1,000, and Syud Hossain Haider, Zamindar of Comilla, Rs. 1,000.

The Burdwan Raj Estates have granted Rs. 3600 for repainting the Burdwan House, and the Maharajah Surya Kanta Acharya of Mymensingh has contributed the very handsome donation of Rs. 20,000 for building an open-air enclosure for the larger carnivorous animals, behind the Burdwan House.

The donations and subscriptions show an increase of Rs. 3,103—Rs. 20,691 the year under review as against Rs. 17,588 the previous year.

The number of visitors has increased, and that too, without taking into account the number of students from different schools, members of some charitable institutions, and children under age, who are admitted free of charge,—the number being 182,310, nearly 30,000 more than last year. The entrance

receipts have gone up from Rs. 12,145-8-0 to Rs. 14,242-4-0. The expenditure under the head "Establishment" has decreased from Rs. 13,384-11-3 to Rs. 13,041-14-1.

Some of the houses and enclosures of the Garden, which were in a very bad condition, have had to be repaired, involving an outlay of Rs. 15,059-4-3, and Rs. 15,493-14-3 were spent under the head "Original Construction" and Rs. 4,213-10-9 on "Garden Construction." Among the donors of animals during the past year are Colonel Sir Richard Temple, Bart., C.I.E., His Grace Archbishop Goethals, S.J., H. H. the Sultan of Johore and Her Excellency Lady Curzon.

We notice among the animals given, two fishing cats, and one English cat, also five tigers, seven leopards, one crocodile, three bears, one crocodile and one elephant, and the following animals were born in the Garden, two spotted deer, one Rhesus monkey, one sambur deer, one Banteng calf, three Andaman pigs, one scarlet ibis, three purple coots, and one crested pigeon.

The following comparative tables will show how the various collection of animals in the Garden stood during the last four years:—

Year.	Mammals.	Birds.	Reptiles.
1898-99	... 447	591	157
1899-1900	... 449	752	187
1900-1901	... 462	905	218
1901-1902	... 490	914	240

The following table will show additions to the collection of animals in each of the last four years:—

Year.	Mammals.	Birds.	Reptiles.
1898-99	103	258	69
1899-1900	... 78	299	91
1900-1901	.. 112	409	102
1901-1902	... 132	250	105

The following statement showing the visitors and receipts during the year 1901-1902.

SUNDAYS.						WEEK DAYS.		TOTALS.	
Number of visitors at 1 anna.	Amount of receipts at 1 anna.	Number of visitors at 4 annas.	Amount of receipts at 4 annas.	Number of visitors at 1 rupee.	Amount of receipts at 1 rupee.	Number of visitors at 1 anna.	Amount of receipts at 1 anna.	Total number of visitors.	Total receipts
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	Rs. A.		Rs. A.		Rs. A.		Rs. A.		Rs. A.
11,979	749 1	5,251	1,313 0	1,957	1,957 0	163,123	10,223 3	182,310	14,242 4

A Monograph on Wood-Carving in Bengal, by Chevalier O. Ghilardi, Officiating Principal, Government School of Art, Calcutta. Bengal Secretariat Press. 1903.

THIS 'monograph' was originally allotted to Mr. G. B. Havel, but he, having gone to England, on leave, the duty has devolved upon M. Ghilardi, who visited Gaya, Patna and Monghyr to see the wood-carvers at work. The Report before us is the result of this visit; and to it is appended a Note on wood-carving in the district of Cuttack, prepared by Babu Monmohan Chakravarty. That the wood-carving industry in Bengal had, and may still have, clever mistries, able to do decorative work is evidenced from the fact of three specimens in the Economic Section of the Imperial Museum in Calcutta, *viz.*, a massive pillar carved in Muzaffarpur and the models of the temples at Kantanagar and Barakar, which are excellent indeed.

At Patna, which is the first place Chevalier Ghilardi visited nothing remains to testify to its identity with the ancient Palibotra, the capital of the Mawrya Emperors, visited by the Greek Ambassadors of the successors of Alexander.

Mr. Ghilardi is not very sanguine as to a better future for the wood-carving industry in this district, and at the present it is practically nominal.

The past seems to have enjoyed a period of happy florid forms, with which the work done at present, will not bear comparison. It appears that all the old carving visible along the road, where the villages of Muradpur, Chowhatta and Aru are situated, was cast more or less from the same mould, so little is the variety in form or design. The carving to which Mr. Ghilardi alludes is that in connection with buildings, such as the pillars, architraves and brackets supporting their verandahs and roofs. Unfortunately now, all this is changed. When a house has to be rebuilt, no more carved pillars are used; bricks are the only substitute. Originally most of these pillars were first worked by the turner, and afterwards carved by clever artisans, but when the present proprietor of a house changes the old pillars, the work of the turner is dispensed with, and the pillars, although fairly well carved, remain of a quadrangular form. The decay in the profession has proceeded so far that none of the new buildings on the long road between Bankipore and Patna have any wood-carvings at all.

A certain percentage of the men make their living by carving blocks for printing cotton materials. The demand for these blocks is constant and will go on increasing.

The fact of the matter is there is no demand for work of a higher order—and this is the reason why the more important

branches of wood-carving in connection with architecture, such as pillars, architraves, brackets, door-ways, window framing or screens, boxes and caskets—are neglected.

Toys also are made, which are distributed in large quantities in the country, and find their market in bazars and fairs.

The tools used are of a very primitive description—although the wood-carvers on blocks use better tools, but they spend too much time in finishing their work, and—as Mr. Ghilardi says, the “old adage ‘time is money’ will probably always remain unknown to these poor men, to whom the whole world seems to be circumscribed to limits of their own land, and as a natural consequence, they are, as a class, very imprudent.”

What is true of Patna, is also true of the old city of Gaya—all is in the past. In earlier days, both rich and poor, appear to have thought it absolutely necessary that at least some part of their dwellings, in which they would spend the greater part of their lives should possess something to delight the eyes, therefore stone and wood-carving was employed in the erection of a frontage to a house whose proportions, adequate to the means and æsthetic of its owner, would generally afford at least some carved pillars, doorways, architraves, carved windows, etc., etc.

Mr. Ghilardi went through the remotest recesses of the extensive native quarter and had the opportunity of admiring some really beautiful wood-carving, which must have originated from the splendid examples of old carved stone on the Buddhist and Hindu temples which seem so gloriously to defy the ravages of the centuries.

He also visited the house of Rai Behari Lall Barrick Bahadur, where the best specimen of ancient carving can be admired and profitably studied. Here he found a door with its pillars, architrave and freizes so admirably carved that they might well be exhibited in a museum. Near this house is the corner of a very narrow lane, at which there is a small house evidently old, and displaying some beautiful carvings of the more minute style, almost resembling chased silver or filigree work. The natives themselves have great veneration for this building, owing to the beautiful construction of its verandah, beams, pillars and freizes. Many other fine examples here are injured by several coats of tar having been laid over them in such a way as almost to obliterate the ancient carving, of which little or no trace is now visible. The same barbarous process of tarring or coating has unfortunately not spared the grand Buddhist temple at Buddha Gaya, a site which cannot fail to inspire in the archæologist the same interest as Niniveh, Memphis, Thebes, Jerusalem, Athens and Rome.

In fact, there is now no wood-carver in Gaya who may be able to do any work similar to these splendid remains. Industry in the strict sense of the word does not exist either in Gaya town, Manpur, Maksudpur, Buddha Gaya or Tikari. The mistries are mere carpenters, and very seldom receive orders for even common carving.

In Buddha Gaya Mr. Ghilardi spoke with a mistri who had carved a nice architrave in the court-yard of the Buddhist monastery four years ago, and from that time he has had no orders for any other carvings, for which the man has special talent. He insists that this architrave carved by him is in the ancient Buddhist style; but it is not so, as the carving possesses all the characteristics of the Burmese manner, as indeed do the greater part of the old carvings in the town of Gaya. An exception might be made in favour of those of Rai Behari Lall Barrick Bahadur's house and a few others. Patna has a style more purely Hindu, and is certainly more free from this Burmese influence.

The wood used here, as at Patna, is sisso or paisor, which offers a better medium for carving than teakwood, which possesses a viscous fibre, giving a good deal of trouble even to the most skilled artisan. The tools used by the local mistries are good ones, and all of European manufacture. With the exception of the already mentioned Barrick and two or three other rich native gentlemen, nobody cares for good carving in Gaya, as the new houses are built in a pseudo-European style, or in a horrid mixture of styles which, while giving a partial suggestion of Oriental character, shock the æsthetic sense, and may be broadly defined as outrages on architectural taste when he came to Monghyr Mr. Ghilardi found that wood-carving, as it is understood in Bankipore, Patna and Gya, is not carried on there. In reality there is no wood-carving in Monghyr, but only inlaid work, for which there is a fair demand, and clever artisans.

The small quantity of carving necessary in their inlaid work on small articles of daily use is made on ebony or mahogany wood, the depth of the carving not exceeding the thickness of a rupee, and therefore the work of the local artisan is not employed on heavy carving in paisor or sisso wood, such as pillars, architraves, freizes doors, etc.

The Monghyr carving has a certain reputation for the embellishment of inlaid work, and the craft has been handed down from father to son for several generations. The few families practising it were established here in the middle of the 18th century, and they were brought to Monghyr, as the tradition goes by, Mir Kassim, with his gun-makers. It may be supposed, then, that the wood fittings of the guns

were the only articles worked upon in the very beginning of the industry by those artists who, it is known, excelled so well in making rich inlaid work on the gun-carriages. When the demand for such work ceased, in the course of time, the artisans devoted themselves to other branches of the industry, and applied their inlaid work to objects such as those in use at the present day.

In the Note on wood-carving in Cuttack, by Babu Manmohan Chakravarty,—he states that wood-carving is a decaying art in this district, and less important than the sister art, of stone-carving. In the following kinds of work, wood-carving is used—(1) Wood-work of houses, especially verandahs, doors, door-frames and windows. (2) Furniture: articles for personal use, such as bedsteads, stools, chests, lampstands and combs. (3) Vehicles, such as *palki*, boat's prows. (4) Carved mythological figures for show at the time of *yatras*, such as *Ravana* and other demons, *Hanumana* and other monkeys, (5) Toys.

The principal objects carved on the works are (1) Beings, mythological or otherwise, such as Krishna, Radha, Sakhis, demons and monkeys. (2) Animals, lion, elephant, crocodiles and horses. (3) Plants, lotus in bud, half-blown and full-blown, *was* flower, *muckkundi* flower and creepers. (4) Also ropes, and geometrical patterns.

The wages are certainly not high, in Cuttack, for this kind of work—in the mofussil, *kharadi* (food) plus three or four annas:—in the town, from five to eight annas per diem.

At the conclusion of a very interesting report Mr. Ghilardi writes—"In my humble opinion the wood-carver in Bengal will never improve his craft, and will always produce the same kind of work. All his forebears did so, therefore he does not trouble himself to think for a moment of inventing a new form or a detail. This sad apathy is perhaps due to the proverbial laziness of the Hindu artisan, or to his narrow mind, which often amount^s to actual prostration, and accounts for this want of research and invention in his craft.

I do not by any means advocate innovation at this late period of Indian art, when its forms and conventions have become so familiar to the public mind, that they in a variety of cases virtually constitute its sole claim to a distinctive existence. There is no possibility in India of any movement, even remotely similar to the *Arte Nova* recently exemplified at the International Exhibition of Decorative Art at Turin, where its English exponent, Walter Crane, is looked upon as a man with a new message for the art world. Nor is this desirable, for Indian art, in consideration for its past is not called upon to develop any radical changes in the future,

and cannot now have an evolution like the art of other nations. It has been for too long a period in a state of lethargy. To hope, then, an for evolution in Indian art to-day would be vain; but we can well hope for a *revival* following a very short programme (similar to be one formulated with three words only by the grand composer, Verdi, about Italian music "Torniamo all' antico") which would consist more in the restoration to Indian art of all that was admirable in its earlier form than in changing the classic traditions of artistic industries, which have already suffered enough from the intrusion of corrupt forms, largely due to foreign exploitation.

The present object of the Government of India, as well as that of all lovers of Indian art, is to co-operate for the betterment of the Indian artisan's condition, as well as for revival of all the Indian arts, of which happily some noble examples belonging to the most flourishing periods of each branch of art and industry are preserved to us.

The Durbar Exhibition at Delhi will, no doubt, be the great starting point. There we shall see the productions of the past compared with those of the present; and I trust that a serious and deep study of that Exhibition will clearly point out the lines along which future progress is to be made in order to insure the revival of every branch of this Indian art.

When the Indian artisan will commence to understand that he is an object of real interest to his rulers, he will become another man.

With more confidence in himself and his prospects, the artisan may be expected to cultivate his artistic ideas through the glorious roads already marked by tradition.

With such a magnificent past to guide him, it is not unreasonable to expect that the Indian artisan might with patience and encouragement be induced to take a personal interest in the regeneration of his art, which, though it may not, as I have already pointed out, be profited by change, must improve and prosper during the era of revival which, let us hope, is impending and may lead eventually to a renaissance on Indian art."

CRITICAL NOTICES.

The Raghuvansa: the Story of Raghu's Line. By Kalidasa. Translated by P. de Lacy Johnstone, M. A., of H. M., Bengal Civil Service (retired); sometimes Bowden Sanskrit Scholar in the University of Oxford. London: 1902. Dent & Co.

ONLY a few months ago the Scott Publishing Company produced in a very cheap but attractive form a volume of translations of Kalidasa. Mr. de Lacy Johnstone now provides us with a blank verse rendering of the *Raghuvansa*. This poem, as perhaps the readers of the *Calcutta Review*, hardly need to be told, is a most important treasury of legend, and although it would be impossible to reproduce in a translation the subtle charms of the original, Mr. de Lacy Johnstone's version will certainly initiate many English readers into the beauties of India's greatest dramatist and epic poet. Like every book turned out by Messrs Dent & Co, this volume is charming in appearance, a photogravure view of Sitapur forms the frontispiece, and the text is illustrated by reproductions of works by Indian artists originally prepared for Mr. Growse's translation of the *Râmâyana*.

The Nineteenth Century Series. Wars of the Century and the Development of Military Science. By Oscar Browning. M. A. London. 1903. W. & R. Chambers.

MR. BROWNING has given us an accurate and interesting account of the Napoleonic wars, the war in the Crimea, the Franco-Italian war of 1859, the American war of secession, the war between Prussia and Austria in 1866, the great war of 1870, the Russo-Turkish war, and the Spanish-American war of 1898. It is obvious that in the space at his disposal, Mr. Browning could only make selections from history, but we should have preferred an account of the operations of our armies in India or South Africa to that of the Spanish American war in 1898. Mr. Browning tells us that "he has preferred to indicate the progress of military science by what is implied in the narrative than by a special treatment which could hardly fail to become unduly technical" Military readers will, we are afraid, be rather disappointed, and even the average man will complain that when a book bears as its sub-title "The Development of Military Science" they should be abruptly told to deduce that branch of history for

themselves from the facts recorded. The absence of maps and plans make the work of deducing the military science all the more difficult. In point of fact, although Mr. Oscar Browning is always interesting, and his accounts of the wars are vivid in the extreme, yet he fails to show us how the science of war has developed.

Progress of the British Empire in the Century. By J. Stanley Little.

MR. LITTLE does not deal with his subject after the fashion of the illustrated Magazine writer who would convince us of the growth of the army by a tiny soldier to represent 1800 A. D., a stripling to represent 1850, and a giant to represent 1899. Neither does he appeal to us with charts and appendices. He uses facts as illustrations of his theories, and does not indulge in statistics as if figures were a joy for ever. But Mr. Little does what Mr. Oscar Browning fails to do, he makes us feel that history is moving. His view of spiritual as apart from religious progress is most alarming. "That the bulk of the people was always pagan, one recognises. Christianity put a thin veneer on paganism; and, such as it was, the Reformation removed a good deal of that veneer," and now, Mr. Little thinks, science promises to take off what veneer remains. And here is another sad confession. "In the important matter of happiness, we were never so poverty-stricken, never so bankrupt as to-day." Pleasure having become a god, with the "smart set" as its hierarchy, content has disappeared. But even Mr. Little seems to see that a brighter day is dawning. "The worst sinners in this pinchbeck society of triflers are not the young women of to-day: they belong to another generation despite their more or less successful attempts to disguise this fact. That they make desperate attempts to inoculate their daughters with the poison which is in their own blood is only too true; but the open-air-school is growing in power, and recent events have brought home, even to those women born into a world where the pursuit of 'pleasure' is the only serious business of life, conceptions of a higher and loftier aim and of simpler joys." And we think this is also true of the religious question. We are getting through the regretful time of Mathew Arnold. We do not, because Calvinism has been blown upon, cry out that the foundations of Christianity are shaken. Mr. Little sketches the story of our material progress with a firm hand, and draws his materials from unexceptionable sources.

Evangeline the Song of Hiawatha. By Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

Aurora Leigh. By Elizabeth Barrett Browning. London : Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press Warehouse.

THESE are two volumes of the Oxford Miniature Edition, —a pocket edition, beautifully printed, and attractively bound. Each of the volumes before us contains 950 pages, and the type is clear and distinct.

Chambers' Twentieth Century Dictionary edited by the Rev. Thomas Davidson, 1207 pages. London, W R. Chambers.

THIS is the third Dictionary which the Rev. Thomas Davidson has prepared,—it is therefore the result of much experience. The great aim of the compiler is to include all the common words in literary and conversational English, together with words obsolete save in the pages of Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, and the Authorised Version of the Bible. An attempt has also been made to include the common terms of the sciences and the arts of life, the vocabulary of sport, those Scotch and provincial words which assert themselves in Burns, Scott, the Brontes, and George Eliot, and even the coinages of word-masters like Carlyle, Browning and Meredith. In addition to the Dictionary itself there are chapters on,—Explanations to the Student. List of Abbreviations used in the Dictionary. Prefixes and Suffixes. Etymology of names of Places, etc. List of Abbreviations, together with signs and symbols used in Medicine and Music. Correct Ceremonious Forms of Address. Pronouncing Vocabulary of Scripture proper names, with their origin and Meaning. Words and phrases in more or less current use from Latin, Greek and Modern Foreign Languages. This is the best one volume Dictionary we have met with.

Flower-o-the-Corn, by S. R. Crockett. 456 pages. London Macmillan & Co.

THERE is not a single dull page in this book, and we consider it one of Mr. Crockett's best. The scene is laid during the Camasard revolt against Louis xivth and there pass, in rapid succession before one's eyes, incidents varied and exciting. *Flower-o-the-Corn*, so called from her blue eyes and golden hair, the Presbyterian Chaplain's daughter shares the place of heroine with Yvette Foy the wayward and clever damsel who captures the Marquis de Montrevel. Much has to be gone through ere the faithful Scotch lover Maurice Raith receives his reward, and then only in an epilogue at the end,

however, alls well that ends well, and we are grateful to Mr. Crockett for a most interesting and briskly written book.

Some Desultory Notes on Lord Curzon's Work in India. (January 1899—June 1901) By Krishna Chandra Roy. Calcutta: Messrs. S. K. Lahiri & Co., College St.

THE writer of this pamphlet explains the reason of it in his Preface which we quote at some length. "The writer of this paper knows very well that a full and proper review of the Viceroy's work can only be made, after he has completed his term of office in India. But he has his own reasons for preferring to take up *the first half* of Lord Curzon's term and confine himself to that period *only*, instead of waiting till the end of his five years' rule. In the first place, being an old man with very precarious health, he fears he may not live to have his say in full; and yet, as an admirer of Lord Curzon, he desires to say something about him in his own way, however crude, defective, and desultory that may be. He is fully conscious of his deficiencies for the work, having never had anything to do with *politics* in any shape whatever, and having, besides, never tried his hand at review-writing of any kind.

In the second place, the writer believes that Lord Curzon has already done a good deal of useful work during this brief period, which may well be taken up separately now.

Another reason which induces him to write now is that, there are matters, or rather points looked upon as *grievances*, which it will be of little use to speak about, *after* Lord Curzon has left the country, but which, if brought to his notice *now*, when he is in authority, may receive attention and find some measure of redress, such as a large-hearted, vigorous, and sympathetic ruler, like Lord Curzon alone, can afford.

Having therefore watched the events of the past two years and a half, and the career of our Viceroy, with great interest, the writer humbly ventures to say what his honest impressions are, even at the risk of being ridiculed by those who may know better and are therefore more competent to judge. There is not however, much in this paper that is the writer's own. He has freely and largely used the words of others, either to substantiate or strengthen the points which he urges, or to give prominence to the views which he expresses and which he believes he shares with many of his countrymen.

Krishna Chandra Roy writes chiefly of, what he calls, the Twelve Reform Projects of Lord Curzon. These twelve subjects are: (1) The Creation and Pursuit of a sound Frontier Policy. (2) The frequency of official transfers—a great evil.

(3) Superfluous Report-writing, another great evil. (4) Preservation of ancient monuments. (5) Inauguration of a Stable Exchange. (6) Increasing indebtedness of the Agricultural population (another great evil). (9) Reduction of Telegraphic rates between India and England. (10) Improving the relations between British soldiers and Indian villagers. (11) Educational Reforms. (12) Police Reforms, etc.

All these questions are treated of in Lord Curzon's own words, with suitable comments and criticisms by the writer. Most of these show common-sense, and with nearly all of them we are in agreement. Mr. Roy concludes,—“It is clear then that Lord Curzon, autocrat though some may think him to be, is by no means an impulsive or a hasty man, as autocrats generally are. He takes time to think over and mature his views by personal observation, and in consultation with those best fitted to advise and give him the benefit of their experiences.”

Hobson-Jobson. A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo Indian words and phrases and of Kindred terms, Etymological, Historical, Geographical and Discursive,—by Colonel Henry Yule, R. E., and A. C. Burwell, Phd., C.I.E.—new edition, edited by William Crooke, B. A., pp. 1021—28s., London, John Murray, Albermarle Street.

“**W**EE have forbidden the severall Factoryes from wrighting words in this language and refrayned itt ourselves, though in bookes of coppies we feare there are many which by wante of tyme for perusall we cannot rectifie or expresse,”—so wrote the Surat Factors to the Court of Directors on February 26, 1617, evidently fearing, in their day the increase of those Anglo-Indian words, which have so grown in number that they now require a portly volume of over a thousand pages to do justice to their explanation and elucidation.

The first edition of this book was published in 1886,—and is the joint work of Colonel Yule, of the Royal Engineers, and Mr. Arthur Burwell, of the Madras Civil Service—the latter, however, never lived to see the completion of the work,—dying four years before its appearance.

It has been a labour of love,—certainly as far as Colonel Yule is concerned ($\frac{7}{8}$ ths of the book is his work) for he says—“The work has been so long the companion of my ‘horae subsicivae,’ a thread running through the joys and sorrows of so many years in the search for material first, and then in their handling and adjustment to the edifice—for their careful building up has been part of my duty from the begin-

ning, and the whole of the matter has, I suppose been written with my own hand at least four times."

Among those who have afforded help, are the late Sir. Joseph Hooker, for articles dealing with plants,—Professor Robertson Smith for words of Semetic origin. Bishop Moule, of Ningpo revised those articles which bear on expressions used in China. Mr. W. W. Skeat has read the contributions on Malay words. Colonel Sir R. Temple, Bart., has permitted the use of several of his papers on Anglo-Indian words. Mr. R. S. Whiteaway on words from Portuguese writers, also such well-known Anglo-Indians as Sir George Birdwood, C. S. I., Mr. Beveridge, Professor G. U. Pope, and Mr. C. H. Tawney.

The title of the book—"Hobson Jobson," would seem to require explanation,—and here it is in the author's own words,—“A valued friend of the present writer many years ago published a book, of great acumen and considerable originality, which he called “Three Essays,” with no Author's name; and the resulting amount of circulation was such as might have been expected. It was remarked at the time by another friend that if the volume had been entitled ‘A Book, by a Chap,’ it would found a much larger body of readers. It seemed to me that ‘A Glossary’ or ‘A Vocabulary’ would be equally unattractive, and that it ought to have an alternative title at least a little more characteristic. If the reader will turn to ‘Hobson-Jobson’ in the Glossary itself, he will find that phrase, though now rare and moribund, to be a typical and delightful example of that class of Anglo-Indian ‘argot’ which consists of Oriental words highly assimilated, perhaps by vulgar lips, to the English vernacular; while it is the more fitted to our book, conveying, as it may, a veiled intimation of dual authorship. At any rate there it is; and at this period my feeling has come to be that such ‘is’ the book's name, nor could it well have been anything else.”

Since the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth words of Indian origin have been insinuating themselves into the English language e. g., “calico” (so called from the fine cotton stuffs of Calicut, in Malabar, first mentioned as early as 1592) “chintz” (first mentioned in 1614), “gingham” (1602)—and they have increased with marvellous rapidity, with the increase of the British power in India. As a natural consequence, vocabularies and glossaries of Indian words in use among Europeans in the East have appeared, and in the work before us a detailed list of some 22 is given.

There is, of course, a great difference in the correct standing of these Anglo-Indian words and phrases, as far as the English language is concerned:—Some we may count as already English, while others, though familiar enough can hardly,

as yet be accorded full recognition:—of the first we may mention such terms as “Curry toddy, veranda, cheroot, sepoy,” etc.—of the latter class, “compound, pucca, haboo mahout, ayah, and nautch.”

It will be a matter of surprise to many readers to know that the names of three of the boats of a man-of-war are of Indian origin, *viz.*, the “cutter,” the “jolly boat” and the “dingy,” of still greater surprise that, when urged on by prickly heat, and a trying climate we give expression to the expressive phrase “I don’t care a ‘dam’” to know that we are using an Hindustani word of most innocent antecedents.

It is interesting to notice the influence, the various nationalities have had on the introduction of foreign words and phrases into this Anglo-India “patois.”

To the trade and conquest of the Arabs we owe such words as “bazaar, hummaul brinjaul maramut, dewan.”

To the conquests and long occupation of the Portuguese “goglet, gram, plantain, caste, peon, padre, mistiy, cobra, mosquito,”—indeed the natives of India, who came in contact with the Portuguese learned a bastard variety of the latter, which, for many years, became the “lingua franca” of intercourse between European and natives,—for we find that the early Lutheran Missionaries of the South all seem to have begun by learning Portuguese, and in their diaries speak of occasionally, preaching in the same language—this was doubtless this “patois” since A. Hamilton, at the end of the 17th Century writes.—“Along the sea-coasts the Portuguese have left a vestige of their language, though much corrupted, yet it is the language that most Europeans learn first to qualify them for a general converse with one another, as well as with the different inhabitants of India.”

There are many words, too, of native origin, which have come to us through the Portuguese,—and bear traces of their contact such as “palanquin, monsoon, mango, batta, curry, coin, betel,” etc., and there are a few examples of Hindustani words, borrowed from the Portuguese, e. g., “chabi, balti, martol, tauliva, satun, basan.”

Neither the Dutch nor the French have contributed much to the store of Anglo-Indian expressions:—to China we owe “loquat, leechee, chow-chow, jinrickshaw.”

There are not a few words, which are really English corruptions, fully accepted and adopted as Hindustani by the natives such as “sinkin, port-shrab, brandy-pani, rail-ghari, jailkhana, bottle-khana, gymkhana.”

We are very glad to notice that the authors of this book have contented themselves with quasi-English spellings,—perhaps not strictly correct, but yet popular, and certainly not pedantic.

"And when I see other good and able friends follow the scientific Will-o'-the-Wisp into such bogs as, in the use in English composition of sipahi and jangal, and verandah—nay, I have not only heard of baggi, but recently seen it,—instead of the good English words "sepoy" and "jungle," "veranda" and "buggy" my dread of pedantic usage becomes the greater."

We venture to give here almost in full the entry under the word Dam,—which seems to have a derivation many of us are ignorant of and this extract will also give us a good idea of the information supplied by Hobson Jobson.

Dam, s. H. dam.—Originally an actual copper coin, regarding which we find in the *Ain* 1-31, ed. Blochmann:—"1. The Dam weighs 5 tanks *i.e.*, 1 tolah, 8 mashas, and 7 sukhs; it is the fortieth part of a rupee. At first this coin was called Paisah, and also Bahloli; now it is known under this name (dam). On one side the place is given where it was struck, on the other the date. For the purpose of circulation, the dam is divided into 25 parts, each of which is called a "jetal." This imaginary division is only used by accountants. 2. The adhelah is half of a dam. 3. The Paulah is a quarter of a "dam." 4. The "damri" is an eight of a "dam." It is curious that Akbar's revenues were registered in this small currency, *viz.*, in lakhs of "dams." We may compare the Portuguese use of "reis."

The tendency of denominations of coins is always to sink in value. The "jetal" which had become an imaginary money of account in Akbar's time, was, in the 14th century, a real coin, which Mr. E. Thomas, chief of Indian numismatologists, has unearthed (see "Chron." "Pathan King," 231). And now the "dam" itself is imaginary. According to Elliot the people of the North-West Provinces not long ago calculated 25 "dams" to the "paisa," which would be 1,600 to a rupee. Carnegie gives the Oudh popular currency table as follows:—

26 "kauris"	...	...	...	1 "damri."
1 "damri"	...	...	...	3 "dam."
20 "damri"	...	...	...	1 ana.
25 "dam"	...	...	...	1 pice.

But the Calcutta Glossary says the "dam" is in Bengal reckoned 1/20 of an ana, *i.e.*, 320 to the rupee. "Most things of little value, here as well as in Bhagulpur (writing of Behar) are sold by an imaginary money called "taka," which is here reckoned equal to two "paysas." There are also imaginary moneys called "chaddan" and "damri;" the former is equal to 1 "paysa" or 25 cowries, the latter is equal to one-eighth of a "paysa." ("Buchanan, Eastern Ind." 1,382 seq.)

We have not in our own experience met with any reckoning of "dams." In reality the "damri's" absolute value has remained the same. "Damri" is a common enough expression

for the infinitesimal in coin, and one has often heard a Briton in India say: "No. I won't give a "dumree!" "with but a vague notion what a "damri" meant, as in Scotland we have heard," I won't give a "plack," though certainly the speaker could not have stated the value of that ancient coin. And this leads to the suggestion that a like expression often heard from coarse talkers in England as well as in India, originated in the latter country, and that whatever profanity there may be in the animus, there is none in the etymology, when such an one blurts out "I don't care a 'dam!' i.e., in other words, "I don't care a brass farthing!"

1628.—"The revenue of all the territories under the Emperors of Delhi amounts, according to the Royal registers, to six 'arbs' and 30 'krores' of 'dams.' One 'arb' is equal to 100 'krores' (a 'kror' being 10,000,000), and a hundred 'krores' of 'dams' are equal to two 'krores' and 50 'lakhs' of rupees." "Mohamed Sharif Haniji," in "Eliot," 7. 138.

1840.—Charles Greville saw the Duke soon after, and expressing the pleasure he had felt in reading his speech (commending the conduct of Captain Charles Elliot in China added that, however, many of the party were angry with it; to which the Duke replied,—"I know they are, and I don't care a "damn." I have no time to do what is right."

"A 'two-penny damn,' was I believe, the form usually employed by the Duke, as an expression of value; but on the present occasion he seem to have been less precise." "Autobiography of Sir Henry Taylor," 1,296. The term referred to seems curiously to preserve an unconscious tradition of the pecuniary, or what the idiotical jargon of our time calls the "monetary" estimation contained is the expression.

1881.—A Bavarian printer, jealous of the influence of capital, said that "Cladstone baid millions of money to the beeble to fote for him, and Beegonsfeel would not bay them a "tam," so they fote for Cladstone." "A Socialistic Picnic in St' James's Gazette," July 6.

1900.—"There is not, I dare wager a single Bishop, who cares one twopenny halfpenny Dime" for any of that plenteousness for himself." "H. Bell," Vicar of Muncaster, in "Times," August 31st.

Nothing more remains for us to say, but that we gladly welcome this new edition of a most valuable and necessary book. As a book of reference it is indispensable—as a book to take up, at odd times, it is most interesting, for it contains a mine of information, well arranged, and well illustrated. (*Englishman*).

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

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John Lane: The Bodley Head. London and New York
- Lady Rose's Daughter.* By Mrs. Humphry Ward. Macmillan
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